

Forty-First Annual
REPORT
of the
Hawaiian Historical
Society

FOR THE YEAR 1932



Honolulu, Hawaii
Published May, 1933

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OFFICERS FOR 1933

President Emeritus.....	RT. REV. HENRY B. RESTARICK
President.....	REV. HENRY P. JUDD
Vice-President.....	HON. W. F. FREAR
Secretary (Recording and Corresponding).....	R. S. KUYKENDALL
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Librarian.....	MISS CAROLINE P. GREEN
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Trustee until 1934.....	RALPH S. KUYKENDALL
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Trustee until 1935.....	HON. W. F. FREAR
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TRUSTEE, LIBRARY OF HAWAII

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COMMITTEES

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House Committee

Miss Caroline P. Green	Miss Margaret Newman, Chairman	Miss Margaret Titcomb
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Editorial and Printing Committee

Rev. H. P. Judd	Ralph S. Kuykendall, Chairman	J. F. G. Stokes
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Purchasing Committee

T. W. Ellis	J. Tice Phillips, Chairman	Miss Caroline P. Green
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C. Bryant Cooper	Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., Chairman	Miss Bernice Judd
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Program and Research Committee

H. E. Gregory	Rev. H. P. Judd, Chairman	P. C. Morris
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Nominating Committee

Gregg Sinclair	Frank E. Midkiff, Chairman	A. Lewis, Jr.
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MINUTES OF A PUBLIC MEETING
DECEMBER 5, 1932

The meeting was called to order at 8:00 p. m. by the Secretary, Mr. R. S. Kuykendall.

In the absence of both the President and the Vice-President, Mr. Kuykendall presided over the meeting.

The following program was presented:

A paper by Mr. Edwin H. Bryan, on "The Contributions of Thomas G. Thrum to Hawaiian History and Ethnology." Mr. Bryan presented for the use of the Society a bibliography of the more important writings of Mr. Thrum, about 250 titles.

An address by Dr. Donald W. Rowland of the University of Hawaii, on "The Influence of the Contract Labor System on the Relations between the United States and Hawaii."

A discussion by Mr. J. F. G. Stokes on "New Bases for Hawaiian Chronology." This was a synopsis of a paper which was too long for reading in its entirety.

After some remarks by various members, the meeting adjourned.

R. S. KUYKENDALL,
Secretary.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING
FEBRUARY 24, 1933

In the absence of President Restarick, on account of illness, the Vice-President, Judge W. F. Frear, presided over the meeting.

The minutes of the meeting of December 5, 1932, were read and approved.

Reports of the President, Treasurer, and Librarian were read and approved for publication in the annual report.

The Nominating Committee (Mr. Frank E. Midkiff, Chairman, Mr. Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., and Mr. L. M. Vetlesen) presented its report, submitting the following nominations: For President, Rev. Henry P. Judd; For Trustees (to serve until 1935), Messrs. T. W. Ellis, W. F. Frear, and S. W. King. Mr. Stokes in a few appropriate remarks suggested that it would be very fitting for the Society to elect our retiring President to the honorary office of President Emeritus, in view of his long and valuable services to the Society. The suggestion met the unanimous approval of the members present and this nomination was added to the report of the committee. The nominations were closed and the Secretary cast the ballot, and the following were declared elected:

President Emeritus: Bishop H. B. Restarick

President: Rev. Henry P. Judd

Trustees (to serve until 1935):

Mr. Thomas W. Ellis,

Judge W. F. Frear,

Mr. Samuel W. King.

In view of the vacancy created by the elevation of Mr. Judd to the Presidency, Mr. Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., was elected to fill the unexpired term, i.e. until 1934.

Mr. Judd, Chairman of a committee on the subject, presented a statement in reference to the historical essay contest to be sponsored by the Society.

The following papers were then presented:

"The Naturalization of Orientals in Hawaii prior to 1900,"
by Miss Maude Jones, Librarian of the Archives of Hawaii.

"The Last Days of the *Atahualpa*, alias *Behring*," by Judge
F. W. Howay of New Westminster, B. C.

"The Schooner *Missionary Packet*," by Mr. Ralph S. Kuykendall.

There being no other business, the meeting adjourned.

R. S. KUYKENDALL,
Secretary.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

To the Members of the
Hawaiian Historical Society,

Ladies and Gentlemen:

During the past year I have done little to promote the interests of the Society. This has been because of illness and advancing age.

There were years when, with the active aid of A. P. Taylor, Edgar Henriques and R. S. Kuykendall, and others, a lively interest was aroused in the Society and its work. Two of those named have passed on and I feel that I am unable to be as active as I was in past years.

I believe that a younger and more vigorous man is needed for the Presidency of the Society, so that, if the members had thought of re-electing me, I should have been obliged to decline.

The Hawaiian Historical Society has done an important work and has much to do, not only in preserving its very valuable collection and adding to it, but in encouraging the youth to take an interest in Hawaiian History. A step in this direction has been taken by your trustees in offering prizes to the pupils of the Public and Private Schools of the Territory on the subject of Kamehameha the Great.

With every good wish for the prosperity of the Society, I remain,

Yours sincerely

HENRY B. RESTARICK,
President.

TREASURER'S REPORT

February 29, 1932 to February 24, 1933

INCOME

Balance in Commercial Account as of February 29, 1932.....	\$ 763.08	
Initiation Fees	3.00	
Dues	388.00	
Sale of Reports and Publications.....	33.50	\$1,187.58

DISBURSEMENTS

Printshop (400 copies Paper No. 19).....	112.00	
Honolulu Star-Bulletin (400 copies—40th Annual Report).....	168.50	
Mellen Associates (Meeting notices, mailing reports, postage, envelopes and changes to mailing list).....	48.69	
Letterheads, envelopes and pamphlet boxes.....	31.11	
Dues Business Historical Society.....	10.00	
Bishop Trust Co. (Safe Deposit Box).....	4.40	
Purchase of Books.....	84.32	
Binding books, etc.....	173.46	
Miscellaneous	8.35	
Tax on checks34	641.17
Balance in Commercial Account as of February 24, 1933.....		\$ 546.41

ENDOWMENT FUND

Balance in Savings Account February 29, 1932.....	\$ 101.17	
Interest on Savings Account.....	9.49	
Interest on Bonds.....	195.00	
Dividends on von Hamm-Young Stock.....	60.00	
Conversion of McBryde Bonds to Theo. H. Davies & Co. Bonds.....	243.17	
Dues Kauai Historical Society.....	75.00	683.83

ASSETS

Two \$1000 Theo. H. Davies Bonds, Par Value.....	\$2,000.00	
One \$1000 Olaa Sugar Bond, Par Value.....	1,000.00	
Ten Shares von Hamm-Young Co. Stock.....	995.00	
Cash—Savings Account	683.83	
Cash—Commercial Account	546.41	\$5,225.24

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS W. ELLIS,
Treasurer, Hawaiian Historical Society

Audited and found correct:

D. W. ANDERSON.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

1932

To the Officers and Members of
the Hawaiian Historical Society

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Routine work accomplished during the year, such as, detailed cataloging, sorting, classifying and entering numerous pamphlets, has improved the condition and usefulness of the library, though much still remains to be done.

An increase in the use of the library by research workers, and the demand for our publications by University students brings a realization of the value of the collection and preservation of all material relating to Hawaiian history.

Additions to the accession book include newly bound volumes of continuations and reports, some interesting gifts and a few noteworthy purchases.

The first gift of the year, which came the day following our last annual meeting, was "Koamalu: a story of Pioneers on Kauai and of what they Built in that Island Garden", in two handsome volumes, written by Ethel M. Damon and presented by Mrs. Dorothea Rice Isenberg. This was followed by a valuable scrap-book containing cartoons by Ralph Yardley, clipped from Honolulu newspapers 1901-1902, the gift of Mr. Thomas W. Ellis.

By request, Mr. Elmer J. Anderson of the Lahainaluna Technical High School, sent us a copy of "Ka Lama Hawaii—Centennial Yearbook of Lahainaluna, 1831-1931." Illustrated with historic prints and photographs, the text gives a full history of the oldest school in the Islands.

Before leaving Honolulu, to reside in California, Mrs. Dorothea L. Emerson donated some books which had belonged to her late husband, Mr. Joseph S. Emerson, charter member, and a former President of this Society. Four Bibles in the Hawaiian, Tahitian, Gilbert Island and Portuguese languages; a manual of Maori

conversation; Psalms in the Niue or Savage Island language and a tiny hymn book in the Ponape dialect. She also gave some quaint old maps of Oahu, Kauai and Niihau, copied by Mr. Emerson's mother many years ago.

We have received such a wealth of pamphlet material this year that much of it still awaits attention. Mr. Arthur C. Alexander gave 190 pamphlets, covering a wide range of subjects, which had belonged to his father, Dr. W. D. Alexander. Many of the items, long out of print, are new to our files, and very acceptable.

Judge F. W. Howay recently sent us two pamphlets from his own pen: "List of Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade, 1805-1814", a continuation of a former list, and "Outline Sketch of the Maritime Fur Trade", which established the earliest direct commercial relations between the Northwest coast, Hawaii and the Far East.

In June we were notified by the Bishop Trust Co., that the will of the late Thomas G. Thrum had bequeathed to the Hawaiian Historical Society two manuscript volumes of the "Commercial Bulletin", Clint's view of Honolulu, and a crayon portrait of himself. The "Commercial Bulletin" consists of two bound volumes of commerce and shipping in the Hawaiian Islands from November 11, 1871 to November 9, 1872, written in Mr. Thrum's clear hand. It is needless to say that this legacy is deeply appreciated. The Trust Company also submitted a catalog of Mr. Thrum's private library of Hawaiiana. By careful check I found that our library has all but a few of the titles listed.

The following books were acquired by purchase: "John Jacob Astor", by Kenneth W. Porter, a biography in two large volumes containing much valuable data on fur and sandalwood trade in the Pacific; "Damien of Molokai", by Irene Caudwell; "Memoirs of Joseph Dutton", edited by Howard D. Case; "Samaritans of Molokai: the Lives of Father Damien and Brother Dutton", by Charles J. Dutton; "America in the Pacific, a Century of Expansion", by Foster Rhea Dulles, which includes excellent chapters on Hawaii, Samoa and the Philippine Islands, and a fine bibliography; "Fur Trade and Early Western Exploration", by Clarence A. Vandiveer, and "My First Mission", by George Q. Cannon, which tells of the introduction of Mormonism into the Hawaiian

Islands in 1850. This rare little book was published in Salt Lake City in 1882.

We also added to our biographical section "Sun Yat Sen, Liberator of China", by Henry Bond Restarick, of particular interest to us in Hawaii where the great patriot received his early education; "The Autobiography of John Ball, Pioneer in the Old Northwest", who gives an account of a visit to the Sandwich Islands in 1833, and "Evolutionist and Missionary, John Thomas Gulick", portrayed through documents and discussions by Addison Gulick, and published just 100 years since the birth of the great scientist in Waimea, Kauai.

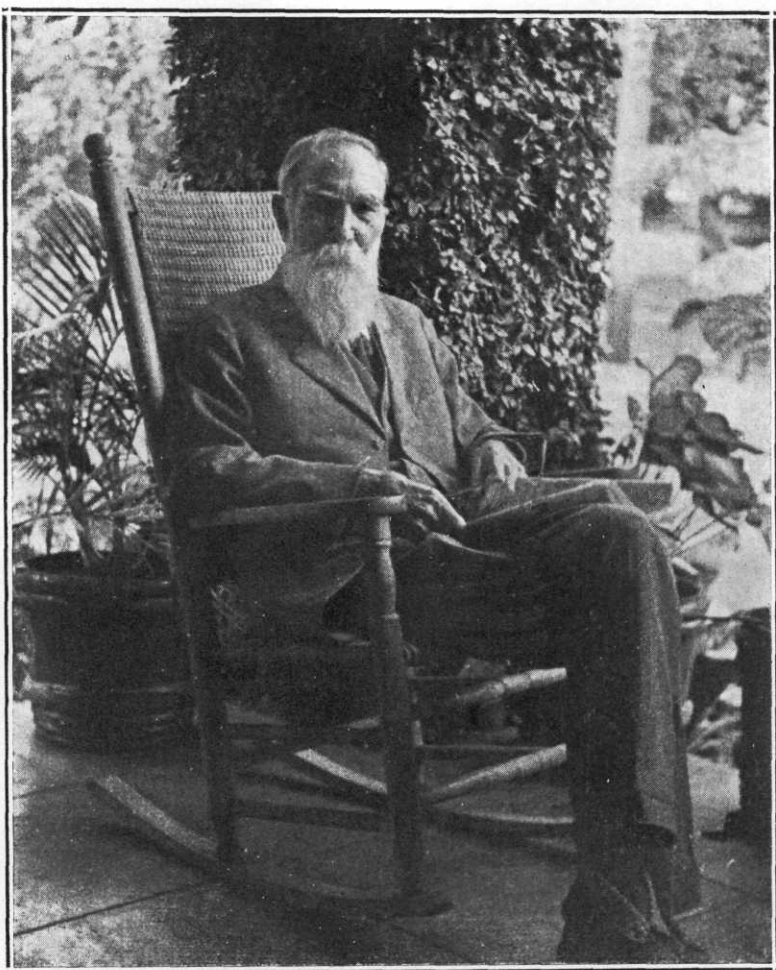
Through the efforts of Bishop Restarick, and the generosity of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, we were enabled to buy volume four of "Men of Hawaii", published in 1930, thus completing our set.

A letter from Mr. Robert W. G. Vail, librarian of the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Mass., says: "I have just been reading your 40th Annual Report, and note that you still have more or less duplicate material on hand. We should like to have you quote us any examples of early Hawaiian print of Hawaiian newspapers and periodicals." He was very grateful for duplicates forwarded, and in exchange has promised us a set of the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, one of the oldest societies in America, founded in 1812. I am sure that the publications will be a valuable acquisition for students of history.

This report would not be complete without acknowledgment to the Bishop Museum, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, the Department of Agriculture and Forestry, the Hawaii Experiment Station and others who have added to the resources of the library.

Respectfully submitted,

CAROLINE P. GREEN,
Librarian.



THOMAS GEORGE THRUM

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THOMAS G. THRUM TO HAWAIIAN HISTORY AND ETHNOLOGY

By E. H. BRYAN, JR.
Curator of Collections, B. P. Bishop Museum

Thomas George Thrum came to Hawaii in 1853, at the age of eleven. He passed away on May 21, 1932. His long life has been filled with useful activities. His seventy-nine years in these islands have been packed with notable accomplishments.

His scientific and literary accomplishments might be summarized as follows:

1. He was an enthusiastic, active, accurate, and painstaking research worker.
2. He made the results of this research available to others by publishing them.
3. His fine spirit of friendly encouragement and cooperation has prompted and promoted scientific investigations by others.
4. His Hawaiian Annual, and the other journals which he founded, have done much to provide a place of publication for the results of their investigations as well as his own.
5. His services as editor, compiler, and translator have made accessible to other students many notes, manuscripts, and articles not otherwise available.

Any one of these accomplishments might suffice to place his name upon Hawaii's "Roll of Honor." Together they have made him the Dean of Hawaiian antiquarians. Single handed, and in the face of many discouragements, he has carefully recorded Hawaiian folklore, archaeology, native customs, historical incidents, natural history notes, and the details of the ever-changing sequence of events, which, unless set down, quickly become but vague memories of the past.

In addition to all this, he has been a loyal citizen and useful public servant. For fifteen years, following 1888, he was the Registrar of Conveyances. He was the trusted adviser of leaders, during the days of the Monarchy, the Republic, and the Territory.

A bibliography of the more important articles written, compiled or translated by Mr. Thrum contains 250 titles. This does not begin to include all of his contributions. There are some 428 articles which might be attributed to him in the Hawaiian Annual alone. I say "might be attributed", for because of his modesty or his dislike of having his name appear too often in the Annual, he signed but a small percentage of these articles, only 38 during the 58 years of the Annual's publication.

These articles cover a great variety of subjects. It might be of interest to glance hurriedly at some of these, for they show the breadth of knowledge and wide range of interest of the man.

A large part are of an historical nature: histories of the various industries, business enterprises, early voyages and explorations, the sandalwood trade, civic accomplishments and aspirations, marine casualties, the early development of the islands. Some are from personal observation: the current events of the revolution, the formation of the Republic, the details of the annexation, the deaths of various members of royalty, the changing scenes in the islands. There are numerous reminiscences of early Honolulu; biographical sketches of members of royalty, native leaders, distinguished citizens, street characters. Of great historical value are his yearly "retrospects" in the Annual, in which are summed up all of the principal events, in Hawaii, of the year. Likewise of value to students of history are his chronological lists of events, and his record of "firstlings."

Another large and valuable part of his writings are devoted to the culture and folklore of the Hawaiian people. Besides his two large books of folktales, there are numbers of legends and traditions, which he gathered and translated, scattered through the Annuals. A monument in itself is the work he did in editing and annotating the three series of volumes of the Fornander collection of Hawaiian antiquities and folk-lore. These were published in nine large memoirs by B. P. Bishop Museum, between 1916 and 1920. His lists and studies of Hawaiian heiaus or native temples are of great value to students of archaeology. His studies of petroglyphs, native plant uses, and other activities of the ancient Hawaiians, are of great interest to ethnologists.

Fewer in number, but of considerable value to the biologist and geologist, are his papers on natural history subjects. He prepared

excellent notes on various plants and their products, native woods, agricultural developments and possibilities, lava flows and volcanic activities, artesian wells and water resources, the outbreak of bubonic plague, weather, beautifying Honolulu, the geography and scenery of the islands, and place names.

The Annuals are a mine of information regarding other publications about the Hawaiian islands. There are numerous reviews of books, and in recent years a regular chapter has been devoted each year to "New Hawaiiana."

The publication of the Hawaiian Annual in itself is a monument to the energy, zeal, and persistence of Mr. Thrum. Published continuously and regularly for 58 years, these volumes contain over 9200 pages of valuable articles and statistics. The tables and directory use 3300 pages. To those who know these statistics, the first thought in investigating many subjects is to "look in Thrum's Annual." They form an accurate and useful source of information. The rest of the Annuals is composed of 1045 articles. The contents of these volumes are so highly considered that at least three librarians in these islands have independently commenced indices to them. Now it is being arranged to combine these three into a single composite index, which it is planned to publish in the near future.

The accomplishments of Mr. Thrum in the fields of Hawaiian history and ethnology have been so many that in a brief resumé there is danger of overlooking items of importance. He was a founder of this Hawaiian Historical Society and one of its most loyal supporters. He was a leader in many civic enterprises, such as the organizing of the library and reading room in 1879. He published *The Islander* in 1875, and the *Saturday Press* from 1881-6. For a time he was the publisher of *The Friend*. In 1888, with the late J. J. Williams, he founded the "Paradise of the Pacific" magazine.

He has been looked to as guide and teacher by a large group of younger investigators. His perseverance and enthusiasm have been an inspiration to us all. Future generations, as well as our own, will look back upon the work of Thomas G. Thrum as a well laid foundation, a cornerstone in the temple of Hawaii's history and ancient culture.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE MORE IMPORTANT
PUBLICATIONS OF THOMAS G. THRUM
(Arranged chronologically)

- Notes on the history of the sugar industry of the Hawaiian islands, Hawaiian Annual for 1875, pp. 34-42.
- Casualties of shipping connected with the port of Honolulu for 1875, Hawaiian Annual for 1876, p. 28.
- Notes on the history of coffee culture in the Hawaiian islands, Hawaiian Annual for 1876, pp. 46-52; extracts reprinted in Hawaiian Annual for 1895, pp. 63-65.
- Notes on the history of rice culture in the Hawaiian islands, Hawaiian Annual for 1877, pp. 45-49.
- The Hawaiian islands as a sugar-producing country, Hawaiian Annual for 1879, pp. 27-28.
- The Hawaiian flag. Hawaiian Annual for 1880, pp. 24-26.
- Honolulu library and reading room. Hawaiian Annual for 1880, pp. 26-28.
- Varieties of taro. Hawaiian Annual for 1880, pp. 28-29.
- The commemorative monument of the centennial of discovery. Statue of Kamehameha the Conqueror. Hawaiian Annual for 1880, pp. 60-61.
- The Honolulu fire department. Hawaiian Annual for 1880, pp. 65-68.
- The lava flow of 1881. Hawaiian Annual for 1882, p. 57.
- Eruptions of Hawaiian volcanoes. Hawaiian Annual for 1883, pp. 50-52.
- Hawaiian railroads. Hawaiian Annual for 1886, p. 43.
- Honolulu packet lines with the new and old world. Hawaiian Annual for 1886, pp. 45-49, 1 plate.
- Great land colonization scheme. Hawaiian Annual for 1886, pp. 73-80.
- Taro, Colocasia antiquorum. Hawaiian Annual for 1887, pp. 63-65.
- Suspended and renewed activity of Kilauea. Hawaiian Annual for 1887, pp. 66-74.
- The Hawaiian islands. A geographical sketch. Hawaiian Annual for 1889, pp. 49-54.
- Some noted battles of Hawaiian history. Hawaiian Annual for 1889, pp. 55-60.
- Artesian wells on Oahu. Hawaiian Annual for 1889, pp. 61-63.
- Brief history of the steam coasting service of the Hawaiian islands. Hawaiian Annual for 1889, pp. 70-81.
- Hawaiian maritime history. Hawaiian Annual for 1890, pp. 66-79, and for 1891, pp. 125-133.
- The Chinese question in Hawaii, as shown in the Cabinet's reply to the petition of a committee of citizens of Honolulu, October 14, 1889. Hawaiian Annual for 1890, pp. 81-90.
- Private signals, Honolulu's commercial marine. Hawaiian Annual for 1891, pp. 98-100, colored plate.
- The Royal Hawaiian band. Hawaiian Annual for 1891, pp. 133-136.
- Fruits, indigenous and introduced of the Hawaiian islands. Hawaiian Annual for 1892, pp. 75-81.
- Royal Palace, Honolulu. Hawaiian Annual for 1892, p. 82, illustration.
- Indigenous Hawaiian woods. A carefully prepared description of the woods of the Hawaiian islands. Hawaiian Annual for 1892, pp. 88-99.
- Manoa Valley; descriptive, historic, legendary. Hawaiian Annual for 1892, pp. 110-116.
- History of the provisional cession of the Hawaiian islands and their restoration. Hawaiian Annual for 1893, pp. 45-70.
- Honolulu harbor improvements. Hawaiian Annual for 1893, pp. 77-81.
- Lapsed and possible industries in Hawaii-nei. Hawaiian Annual for 1893, pp. 105-109.

- Fifty years of Hawaiian commercial development. Hawaiian Annual for 1894, pp. 58-62; reprinted from The Friend, Sept. 1893.
- Increasing interest in Hawaii. Hawaiian Annual for 1894, pp. 90-91.
- Bureau of Agriculture and Forestry. Hawaiian Annual for 1894, pp. 92-94.
- The present Hawaiian situation. Hawaiian Annual for 1894, pp. 143-146.
- Hawaii a republic. Hawaiian Annual for 1895, pp. 43-47, plate.
- Coffee outlook in Hawaii. Hawaiian Annual for 1895, pp. 65-68.
- The Hawaiian flag continues unchanged. Hawaiian Annual for 1895, pp. 55-6.
- Curiosities of the Registry Office. Hawaiian Annual for 1895, pp. 56-59.
- Kaluahinenui's heroic deed. A remarkable instance of Hawaiian aquatic powers and wifely devotion. Hawaiian Annual for 1895, pp. 60-62.
- Hawaii's labor commission. Hawaiian Annual for 1895, pp. 73-77.
- Stories of the Menehunes. Hawaii the original home of the Brownies. Hawaiian Annual for 1895, pp. 112-117.
- Brief record of the rebellion. Hawaiian Annual for 1896, pp. 56-67.
- Early history of the present house of C. Brewer & Co., Limited. Hawaiian Annual for 1896, pp. 68-73.
- Hawaiian commercial development. The Overland, June, 1895; reprinted in Hawaiian Annual for 1896, pp. 87-106.
- Hawaiian surf riding. Hawaiian Annual for 1896, pp. 106-113, 3 figs.
- California's participation in the commercial development of Hawaii. Hawaiian Annual for 1898, pp. 51-55.
- The days we celebrate. Hawaiian Annual for 1898, pp. 62-69, 2 plates.
- Islands comprising the Hawaiian Republic. Hawaiian Annual for 1898, pp. 165-166.
- List of all cabinet ministers who have held office under the Hawaiian government. Hawaiian Annual for 1899, pp. 69-71.
- Annexation of Hawaii to the United States. Hawaiian Annual for 1899, pp. 72-79.
- The battle of Nuuanu. Hawaiian Annual for 1899, pp. 107-112.
- Hawaiian personal names. Hawaiian Annual for 1899, pp. 113-120.
- Aloha, an Hawaiian salutation. Hawaiian Annual for 1899, pp. 132-134.
- The passing of Hawaii's Aliis. Hawaiian Annual for 1900, pp. 86-92.
- Yachting in Hawaiian waters. Hawaiian Annual for 1900, pp. 109-118, 4 figs.
- Honolulu street characters. Hawaiian Annual for 1900, pp. 119-123, 5 figs.
- Interesting Hawaiian discovery. More picture rocks. Hawaiian Annual for 1900, pp. 126-128, fig.
- Ancient idol unearthed. Hawaiian Annual for 1900, p. 129, fig.
- Admission day of Hawaii. Hawaiian Annual for 1901, pp. 50-58, 1 fig.
- Honolulu's battle with bubonic plague. Hawaiian Annual for 1901, pp. 97-105.
- Steamer day in Honolulu. Hawaiian Annual for 1901, pp. 106-110, 3 figs.
- The Oceanic Company's new steamships. Hawaiian Annual for 1901, pp. 178-181.
- Railroad progress on Hawaii. Hawaiian Annual for 1901, pp. 183-5.
- History of the house of H. Hackfeld and Co. Hawaiian Annual for 1902, pp. 43-54, 4 illustrations.
- More landmarks removed. Hawaiian Annual for 1902, pp. 143-144.
- Hawaiian calabashes. Hawaiian Annual for 1902, pp. 149-154, 2 figs.
- The agricultural development of Hawaii, as shown by the last census enumeration, June 1, 1900. Hawaiian Annual for 1903, pp. 45-61.
- Kilauea resumes volcanic activity. Hawaiian Annual for 1903, pp. 68-72.
- Kahoolawe, an early place of banishment. Hawaiian Annual for 1903, pp. 117-122.
- Bureau of conveyances. Hawaiian Annual for 1903, pp. 123-126.
- Honolulu's new business structures. Hawaiian Annual for 1903, pp. 126-130, 2 figs.

- Completion of the Pacific Cable. Hawaiian Annual for 1904, pp. 47-50, 4 figs.
- The internal commerce of Hawaii. Hawaiian Annual for 1904, pp. 51-61.
- Diversified industries again. Hawaiian Annual for 1904, pp. 62-67.
- A historic tortoise or land turtle. Hawaiian Annual for 1904, pp. 72-73, fig.
- Waialua revisited. Hawaiian Annual for 1904, pp. 101-5, 2 figs.
- Activity of Mauna Loa's summit crater. Hawaiian Annual for 1904, pp. 163-171.
- The sandalwood trade of early Hawaii, as told by pioneer traders, voyagers, and others. Hawaiian Annual for 1905, pp. 43-74.
- The legend of Kaneaukai. Hawaiian Annual for 1905, pp. 146-149.
- On Hawaiian duplicated place names. Hawaiian Annual for 1905, pp. 150-154.
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- The Kamehameha IV-Neilson tragedy. Hawaiian Annual for 1906, pp. 86-91.
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- A visit to Waimea, Oahu, scene of the Daedalus tragedy of May, 1792. Hawaiian Annual for 1906, pp. 113-117.
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- Hawaii redeeming herself. Hawaiian Annual for 1908, pp. 121-122.
- Hawaii's different lava flows as shown by various authorities on Hawaiian volcanoes. Hawaiian Annual for 1908, pp. 123-130, 2 illustr.
- Mauna Loa's outbreak and lava flow of 1907. Hawaiian Annual for 1908, pp. 131-137, fig.
- Hawaii's sisal fiber prospects. Hawaiian Annual for 1908, pp. 138-141.
- New irrigation works. Hawaiian Annual for 1908, pp. 156-159.
- Heiaus and heiau sites throughout the Hawaiian islands (Concluded). Hawaiian Annual for 1909, pp. 38-43, 1 illustr.
- Tales from the temples, III. Hawaiian Annual for 1909, pp. 44-54, 1 illustr.
- Reunion of Bethelites. Hawaiian Annual for 1909, pp. 116-118, 1 fig.
- A chapter of firstlings: of things past and present, arranged chronologically under their subjects. Compiled from various sources. Hawaiian Annual for 1909, pp. 128-140.
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NEW BASES FOR HAWAIIAN CHRONOLOGY

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Incredible as it may seem, many dates of Hawaiian events found in our histories, taught in our schools and quoted in supposed authoritative works are merely the guesses of an uninformed Hawaiian, written in 1865. These guesses ignore entirely dates recorded in earlier references, some of them observations contemporary with the event and all at variance with the dates now regarded as established. It becomes evident as the study progresses that the earlier-recorded references were not discarded because they differed from the guesses, but because the guesser was unaware of the records.

The dates in the list of 1865, with others decidedly questionable, were used by S. M. Kamakau in his long series of historical writings in the native newspapers (29). Fornander's historical work (20, II) is founded very largely upon that of Kamakau, especially the dates, except where Fornander calculated dates from genealogies. Being in English, Fornander's writings were generally followed, blindly and ovinely it is true, and have been widely quoted as highly authoritative.

In the present paper, it is proposed to collect and correlate the earlier records so far as available and, after discussing the systems now followed, to offer bases for Hawaiian chronology more conformable with existing data.

Since the Hawaiian dates referred to are in the traditional or prehistoric period, it would be well to refer to the native method of recording events.

YEAR COUNTS NOT HAWAIIAN

The early Hawaiians had no system of recording dates by years. They had a good calendric system based on the sidereal year, to which lunar time was subsidiary with the necessary adjustments to secure uniformity. They had names for the seasons,

the months, and the days of the month. They had also a counting system more than sufficient for any human chronology, but, it was not the custom to count by years. However, they were not without a chronology. Events in distant time were dated by reference to the kings in whose reigns they occurred; and their relative order, if really desired, was ascertainable from the genealogies.

Nearer events were associated with the physical age of the informant or some other person of reference. Inversely, the birth-year or some mile-stone in the life of the individual was associated with some such important event as a battle, death of a king, a tidal wave, or other matter of moment occurring about the same time. Thus the establishment of the date of one event automatically establishes that of its associate.

The physical ages followed the natural method of observing changes in body appearance. The terms were numerous, and the following may be only a partial list: Youth in general is *opio* or *opiopio*; for babyhood or childhood we get *wa keiki kolo*, *wa keiki*, *wa kamali*; adolescence, *heuole*, *heu*, and *ui*; maturity, *makua*, *oo*, and *oolea*; old age in general, *elemakule* if male and *luahine* if female; senility, *kanikoo*, *haumakaiole*, *hakalunu*, *palalauhala*, *ka i koko*, and *kau i ka puaneane*.

Thus ages were not counted in years. Kotzebue (32, I, 309) learned this in 1816 when enquiring the age of Liholiho. The missionaries tried to induce the Hawaiians to adopt the count by years. In 1846, the natives were specially urged to record their birth-years in the family bible "like intelligent people elsewhere" (46). Even today old Hawaiians are met with who do not know their ages by years.

DATES MAY BE APPROXIMATED

We may thus expect no help from early Hawaiian sources in establishing a chronology referred to any annual system, beyond what may be (1) deduced from their genealogies, and (2) recorded as associated with the lives of known individuals. Such a chronology at best can only be an approximation, although, even so, it has historical value. For the first of these sources there are genealogies available and awaiting a suitable unit of measurement of a generation. To aid the second, much information has been recorded by the early voyagers and travellers.

EARLIER DATA DISCREDITED

Fornander used the first method extensively, but unfortunately employed the over-large unit of 30 years for a native generation. For his later dates he depended almost entirely upon Kamakau's work of 1865-1871, brushing aside the dates established previously by the historians Jarves (27) and Bingham (6). What is worse, perhaps, Fornander (20, II, 336) ridiculed the accuracy of observations made on the living subjects:

The difficulty of judging the age of Hawaiians by their looks is well illustrated by the wellnigh random guesses, by which the navigators of those days expressed their opinion of the ages of certain prominent Hawaiians. In speaking of Kaahumanu in March, 1793, Vancouver says that she was "about sixteen years old." It is now thoroughly well established that Kaahumanu was born in 1768 at Kauwika, in Hana, Maui, and that Kamehameha took her as his wife in 1785, about the time of the campaign of Hapuu or Lau-pahoehoe-hope. She was consequently twenty-five years old when Vancouver saw her.

This remark, when properly evaluated, will illustrate much of Fornander's difficulty in recording history correctly. At no time does he explain how such a date was "thoroughly well established." In place of Fornander's figure of 25 recorded in 1880, Jarves had earlier set the age at 18 and Bingham at 19. These figures support Vancouver rather than Fornander. Only two of these writers saw Kaahumanu, Bingham in her old age and Vancouver in her youth, so that the estimate of the latter is undoubtedly the more correct.

Fornander's authority of course was the Hawaiian writer Kamakau, who is the only one to apply to Kaahumanu the birth-year of 1768 before Fornander did so. Similarly with Fornander's other uncalculated dates, they are on Kamakau's authority alone.

COMPARISON OF ESTIMATES

Without pausing for the moment to challenge Kamakau's accuracy, comparisons may be made between his dates and early observations. In the ages of some of the kings, it will be observed that Kamakau's figures will over-run the early estimates as much as for Kaahumanu's age:

	Estimates by Year of observation	early voyagers Age then estimated	Age reduced for comparison, from Kamakau	Kamakau's increase
Kalaniopuu				
King of Hawaii	1779	50	77	54%
Kahekili				
King of Maui	1786	45 to 50	78	65%
Kamehameha				
King of Hawaii	1798	40	62	55%

The four comparisons of ages would indicate that either five observers of the living individuals were wrong, or that Kamakau had erred. However, Kamakau's accuracy may be directly challenged when the comparisons are extended to some historical events.

CHECKS FOR ACCURACY

Kamakau (and also Fornander) states that in the year 1740, "Peleioholani, king of Oahu, saw foreign ships as he was sailing from Oahu to attack Molokai." The account of the war included the names of places which were destroyed by fire.

There is no question that this date should have been February 26, 1779 (13, III, 84). When the English exploring vessels, then commanded by Captain Clerke, were sailing between Oahu and Molokai, their people saw large fires on Molokai. It was learned from natives on board that Peleioholani was then invading the island in his campaign against King Kahekili of Maui (14, King). Next day (13, III, 87) Clerke's vessels touched at Waimea, on the west side of Oahu, and his people were told that the warriors were absent on the Molokai campaign. They were also invited to wait two or three days so that Peleioholani could visit them (14, King). This reference to time makes it clear that Peleioholani was then at the eastern end of Oahu facing Molokai, if not across the channel on Molokai itself. Obviously, Kamakau and Fornander are applying the year 1740 to events of 1779.

These two authors give the date of Peleioholani's death as 1770. As just shown, he was found to be much alive nine years later, in 1779, although his people then described him as an old man. Ellis (19, p. 421) and Bingham (6, p. xvi) record Peleioholani as the ruler of Oahu in 1779.

The study of the political situation on Hawaii immediately before and after Cook's visit will be aided by closely examining

some of the dates accepted. Kamakau and Fornander place the death of the chief Nuuanu as in 1781 or after Cook's time, and the battles of Kakanilua in 1776 or before. The order of these two should perhaps be reversed.

The chief Nuuanu, or Nuuanu-paahu, was recorded (20, II, 201) to be plotting against the Hawaii king in 1781, but died from loss of blood after his hand was bitten off by a shark at Kohala, Hawaii. This date should be at least two years earlier because in February 1779, Samwell (14) saw a native's hand marked in mourning for the chief Nuuanu who had been killed by a shark off Hawaii. Samwell's spelling of the name is Nanoo-ano, i.e. *na*, "for" *Noo-ano*, a good rendition of the period of the name Nuu-anu.

A discussion of the year assigned to the Kakanilua battles, requires a more indirect course. In 1779, many iron daggers were made after the native pattern in wood and traded or given to the people on Hawaii island. None were given to the natives of Maui or Oahu. In 1786 Portlock (45, p. 77) recalling this occurrence, observed only two or three of these daggers in the hands of the warriors on Hawaii, but was puzzled to find that all the warriors he met on Oahu were equipped with at least one of them. As he remarked: "The natives at these islands will never part with their weapons but at the expense of their lives." Portlock's contact on Oahu was, of course, with its recent conquerors from Maui.

Casting through the native accounts of wars between Maui and Hawaii, one will be struck by the sweeping defeat at Kakanilua of the Hawaii forces in their invasion of Maui (20, II, 153 ff.). There was none other like it. First the Alapa regiment of 800 of the pick of the Hawaii aristocracy, magnificently accoutered, was ambushed and annihilated in its foolhardy attempt to dash ahead and capture the principal town. Only two men escaped alive. Next day, the main Hawaii army was shattered and its king compelled to sue for peace. The date of this disaster is given by Fornander as 1776; were it 1779 or 1780, we may conceive that the possession of the new weapons of iron obtained from the explorers inspired the mad dash into enemy country, the progress of which was only stopped by cool and superior strategy.

Then it might appear that having closed the road from Hawaii by crushing its army, and with the new iron weapons taken from

the dead Alapa soldiers, the Maui king was prompted to attack his warring neighbor on the other side, situate on Oahu. This invasion was thoroughly successful and occurred before Portlock's arrival.

Further doubt is cast on the date 1776, when the native account records that the king of Oahu, the successor to the allegedly deceased Peleioholani, assisted the Maui king at Kakanilua (20, II, 154). In 1779, as shown above, this same Peleioholani was actively at war with the Maui king.

Enough has been presented to indicate the necessity of a close scrutiny of all the accepted dates in the traditional period. As previously stated they may be followed back to the writings in 1865-1871 of Kamakau (29) whose dates are drawn from an anonymous list (30) printed in the Hawaiian newspaper in July, 1865. The most remarkable thing about the list is that it is the first appearance of a large series of dates attached to incidents in the traditional period. All previous chronological lists published in Hawaiian had avoided this period. We may review these lists before proceeding further.

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTS

The earliest list appears to have been the Hawaiian Almanac for 1835 (12) combining with the calendar the dates of a few Hawaiian historical incidents since 1820. This was followed by a translation of a Scriptural chronology which passed through a few editions (16). In 1846 a chronological table (46), said in the introduction to have been prepared by Rev. Wm. Richards, was published in *Ka Elele Hawaii*, the editor of which prefaced the list with a homily on the advantage to Hawaiians in keeping records of their ages in years. The table has but one reference to events prior to the arrival of Captain Cook, namely the statement that Kalaniopuu came to the throne in 1752. Most of the dates are historical and taken from the accounts of the voyages and records of the missionaries. Some are clearly from native information. There are but few inaccuracies, although the date 1752 is decidedly questionable.*

In *Ka Hae Hawaii* of 1858, W. H. Kaauhaikini (28) rearranged Richards' list according to subject and brought it up to date.

* A still earlier list has since been observed in the back of the *Hoikehonua* of 1832, the first geography in the Hawaiian language, and compiled by Whitney and Richards.

In 1860, 1861, and 1862 the *Alemanaka Keristiano* (1) was published. The first two editions recorded some modern Hawaiian dates, mixed with some from Europe, for instance: "Kamanawa and his companion were hanged in 1840." "Lady Jane Grey was beheaded in 1554." In addition in 1861 Richards' items of 1846 with later dates were included. The 1862 edition ran only a group of Scriptural items.

On July 6, 1865, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (42) presented the first instalment of a world chronology by Z. P. Poli which continued weekly with few breaks and ended in the issue of September 16. It was well introduced by reference to authorities which Poli says were the Century Almanac and other almanacs and chronologies. The first two entries are: "The creation of the world in 4004 B. C." and "The birth of Cain in 4142 B. C."—a reversal of order undetected through the inability of Hawaiians of the time to fully understand year dates. The September issues of the newspaper incorporate, with the other items, the dates set by Richards for the Hawaiian islands.

It is worthy of note that the list by Poli and its predecessors, were prefaced by references to authority, purpose, or advantages, and furthermore bore the names of their compilers.

KAMAKAU'S LIST

In *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* issue of July 13, 1865, and in the column adjacent to Poli's second instalment, was commenced the anonymous list (30) mentioned above. It was confined to Hawaiian events and continued for three issues ending on July 29. It had no introduction beyond the statement that the list would begin with Kualii "who reached a very great age, namely 175 years." The first entry was the birth of Kualii in 1555. The last entry was of December 21, 1794, when the author closes with these remarks, translated as literally as possible:

I now close this chronological table. The history attaching to it is so extensive that no living man can compile it. Much valuable information is unrevealed, but I am troubled with sickness and unable to write. If the Almighty God will help me, then you will obtain the really true Hawaiian History book.

In the writer it is not difficult to recognize Kamakau who, shortly after (57, p. 48) went down with a long and serious

illness. The dates in this list are those which appear in Kamakau's later writings, but not in the numerous contributions of the other natives before or at this time.

For an evaluation of the accuracy of the items, some examples have been offered above. Of course, Kualii's age of 175 might cause some wonder, as well as the statement that when 114 years old he begat his son Peleioholani. In these figures, Kamakau may have been influenced by Poli's list of the patriarchs which had appeared the previous week. On the other hand, Poli appeared to have distrusted Kamakau's list, which was rich in assumed dates of the traditional period. When Poli, over a month later, came to the Hawaiian portion of his chronological table, he ignored Kamakau entirely and followed Richards who had hardly touched the era.

RELIABILITY OF KAMAKAU

The question now is the reliability of Kamakau's chronological table of dates in the traditional period. It depends upon no authority but that of Kamakau himself.

Of course in some quarters locally it is a heresy to question Kamakau's dictum, although in his day his historical accuracy was assailed on all sides by his compatriots (57, pp. 45 ff.) His retort was as follows, according to his biographer:

Asking to be excused for being presumptuous, still he brags that he is the only one who can answer to perfection, and to the satisfaction of anyone who asks any question pertaining to Hawaiian history; that others are nothing but children and did not know of what they were saying.

This remark is typical of many native authorities today, and if Kamakau were correct in his boast, he would need no earlier references in compiling his chronological table.

Kamakau's reliability however was not of the best. He was deprived of his judgeship for cause. His eulogist (57, pp. 52 ff) in the legislature apologizes for his "political and social" opinions but enlarges on his value as a "historian and legendary writer." The latter expression is presently changed to "romancer" by the eulogist. His historical followers are themselves somewhat reserved and accept Kamakau with apologies for his inaccuracies. His biographer regards his history as "at times of doubtful character." Fornander says of Kamakau: "He is often very credu-

lous, inconsistent and uncritical . . . his love of antiquity often leads him into irreconcilable difficulties." Alexander (2, p. 17) notes that Kamakau "did not always keep his versions of the ancient traditions free from foreign admixture." Yet these authorities are largely responsible for the perpetuation of the dates established by Kamakau alone!

For much of his unreliability, Kamakau is not wholly responsible. His instructor in historical methods (52, p. 98) was more unscrupulous in misstating facts than ever was Kamakau.

DATES ARE MERE GUESSES

Briefly summed up, most of Kamakau's dates in the traditional period related to people who were dead long before he was born; he had no opportunity of ascertaining the dates through tradition, because Hawaiians did not use year dates; he was the first to expound the dates and did so without explanation of their source or his method of obtaining them; they were not accepted by his native contemporaries who, on the other hand, assailed his historic accuracy.

Obviously Kamakau's dates were the merest guesses of an irresponsible man, yet his closest followers, while apologizing for his unreliability, pick up the dates he guessed at and write them into Hawaiian history as "thoroughly well established." There can be no question that the dates now applied to the traditional period of Hawaiian history should be scrutinized most rigidly before acceptance.

PRESENT CONSERVATISM SUSTAINS ERRORS

To bring up the contemporary observations of the early explorers for evaluation, against guesses made eighty years or more after the events, might seem to be an absurd procedure. Yet our present-day Hawaiians and others have for some generations been so well drilled in the dates assumed by Kamakau that they cannot conceive the possibility of their being erroneous. Last year in a preliminary paper (53¹) intended for the guidance of the local legislature, I pointed out an obvious error in the age attributed to Kamehameha I. The reaction of some was more resentful than if I had ridiculed their religion.

¹ Acknowledgment is made of the courteous permission of the Honolulu Advertiser to incorporate the material there published in the present paper.

Some local myths are now firmly established as facts, due to the influence of Kamakau, Fornander, and others. Two of these myths concern us at the present: (1) Caucasians were and are incapable of estimating ages of Hawaiians and always *under*-estimate them; (2) Early Hawaiian kings reached great ages. As a matter of fact, neither myth is sustained. When possible to check the data, it is found that the estimates by Caucasian observers are very accurate when the subject is young, and *over*, *not under* in later life;² while the natural life-span of Hawaiian kings was relatively short.

ACCURACY OF OBSERVERS

In illustration of the first point, we may examine the observations on Kaumualii, King of Kauai. His birth-year may be readily established. Bingham (6, p. 48) places it as 1780 and (6, p. 31) had native information that he was not born in 1778, the year Cook discovered the islands. In March, 1779, when Cook's vessels returned to Kauai, Kaumualii's parents had either just been married or were about to be. We may thus establish the birth-year as 1780. The observations on his age are tabulated below:

Observer	Date of Observation	Estimated Age	Actual Age
Vancouver (58, I, 394)	in 1792	12	12
Menzies (39, p. 37)	in 1792	11 to 12	12
Bell (5, S., p. 7)	in 1792	13	12
Manby (36, June, p. 23)	in 1792	11	12
Bingham's estimate	referred to 1796	16	16
Bishop, Log of ship Ruby	in 1796	17	16
Iselin, (26, p. 80)	in 1807	30	27
Patterson (43, p. 70)	writing in 1816	45	36
Whitney (15a, p. 245)	in 1820	"aged"	40
Bingham, (6, p. 98)	in 1820	"old"	40
Stewart (50, p. 290)	in 1823	"venerable"	43
Kaumualii died in	1824	44

The average, 12, of the first four observations is, of course, correct, and is not greatly affected if those of Bishop and Iselin are added, although overestimates. Fair accuracy is also found in the averaged estimates of Liholiho's age (p. 46 below) while

² Cf. footnote 3, p. 39.

the agreement in many estimates of Kamehameha's age (p. 38 below) is remarkable. Variation in estimates is of course to be expected if for no other reason than the variable perspective due to the age and experience of the observers themselves, but an average of observations on a youth should be accepted as historically correct.

KINGS SHORT-LIVED

The matter of early aging by members of Hawaiian royalty make more difficult the estimates later in the life of the observed. The table of Kaumualii's aging records that it was early. Another illustration is that of Queen Keopuolani, the highest chiefess of her time, who died at the age of 43. Stewart (50, p. 172) described her as a "venerable old lady." She regarded herself as "old" as did her people.

So far as observed in the last century, kings of pure Hawaiian extraction were short-lived, none exceeding the age of 44 (Cf. Table I). Of the sixteen young chiefs specially selected on account of their blue blood to be pupils of the newly founded "Royal School", none whose full Hawaiian ancestry was unchallenged reached the age of 50.

A general assumption is that these short lives were due to the modern deleterious influences to which those high in power and rank were necessarily subjected. Undoubtedly such influences were present, but nothing is mentioned concerning the *ancient* deleterious influences, the perniciousness of which is entirely ignored.

Rapid physical degeneration and early aging of Hawaiian kings in mid-life was noted by all the early voyagers. Such was said to be due largely to excessive indulgence in *awa*, the use of which the voyagers observed was confined to those of chiefly rank. Lieutenant King (14) says of King Kalaniopuu: "Although not an old man, yet he was extremely debilitated, and every part of him shook prodigiously, which we attributed to his drinking to excess" of *awa*, and adds, "Many, before they are 40 are the most miserable objects." The custom begins early in life because the king's young son, aged 12, "pointed to us some places on his hips that were becoming scaly" from the indulgence.

Burney (14) describes Kalaniopuu as "a tall and thin old man, apparently more worn out with debaucheries than with age,

his skin being entirely covered with a kind of scaling, the marks of a great yava drinker."

TABLE I

LIFE SPAN, SOVEREIGNS OF ASSURED HAWAIIAN BLOOD

	Life span	Died
Kaumualii, king of Kauai (Son of Kaeo of Maui, the half brother of the mother of Queen Keopuolani, following)	44	1824
Keopuolani, Queen of Hawaiian Ids. (Queen wife of Kamehameha I and daughter of his half sister)	43	1823
King Kamehameha II	28	1824
King Kamehameha III (Kamehameha II and III, sons of Kamehameha I and Keopuolani)	41	1854
King Kamehameha IV	29	1863
King Kamehameha V (Kamehameha IV and V, grandsons of Kamehameha I and Kalakua)	42	1872
King Lunalilo (Grandson of a half brother of Kamehameha I and Kalakua)	42	1874
Average life span of Hawaiian monarchs	38	
Average life span of Kamehameha's descendents who reigned	35	
Average of last with their brothers and sisters who reached adolescence	30	

Similar observations on kings and chiefs were made by most of the other voyagers. Among them Vancouver (58, III, 305) after remarking on King Kahekili's apparent aging and debilitation, due to awa, sees in the brother king, Kaeo, a man "far advanced in years, seemingly about 50" whom Vancouver re-collected as a youth of 18 but fourteen years previously. As last observed by Vancouver, Kaeo was "evidently a much younger man than Kahekili, yet nearly reduced to the same state of debility." Menzies (39, p. 109) who knew Kaeo very well five years previously remarks: "Age has laid a heavy hand on Kaeo within these few years, so that he now appears considerably advanced beyond the prime of life."

The observations quoted were made after a period of intensive warfare affecting all the persons mentioned. Possibly the combination of awa and arduous campaigning shortened the royal lives, but on the evidence obtained there is no warrant in at-

tributing appreciably longer lives to the early Hawaiian kings than to those of the nineteenth century. The excessive use of awa by the king is mentioned in the ancient traditions (Cf. 21, V, 74).

In these pages, of course, attention is limited to the ages of the higher nobility, because such alone are likely to serve as milestones in history. It must not be implied that no Hawaiian reached a reasonably old age—it is quite possible that many of the commoners of the period did so, having less opportunity for indulgence to excess than the chiefs. In 1819 Guerin (23, p. 574) remarked that in general a man of sixty already offers all the marks of the last decrepitude. Forty years before, King described a similar condition of the chiefs at the age of 40. The differences in observations might imply a longer life to the commoner than to the chief, or possibly the introduced alcohol was less harmful than the native awa.

REFERENCE YEAR, 1782

For the observations which follow, a most valuable reference year is 1782, marking (1) the death of Kalaniopuu, king of Hawaii island, in April, (2) the death of his son Kiwalao at the battle of Mokuohai in July, and (3) simultaneously the accession of Kamehameha I to power as an independent leader. The year-date is established by native information imparted to Meares (38, p. 343) indicating these occurrences as three years after Cook's death in 1779. It is confirmed in the various chronological lists by Richards, Kamakau and Fornander.

ADOPTION OF BIRTH-YEARS

I now present a series of dates established by observations on the ages in years of Hawaiian aristocrats, made by the early voyagers. On account of the early decrepitude discussed it is obvious that: (1) Observations on the young will be more correct than those on the middle-aged, and that the latter will be more reliable than those on the aged; (2) Averaging of ages must be by groups of estimates made about the same period. If averaged throughout life, the expected exaggeration of estimates in later life would distort the result; (3) All estimates in mid and late life should be reduced if possible; (4) Estimates of age of an individual near the close of life are of little value for

accuracy in year counts. In the series, the date on the left margin is offered as the birth-year being, perhaps, more correct than may be otherwise ascertained.

1729. KALANIOPUU, king of Hawaii island. The observations of the age of this king, early in 1779, were

Clerke (14)	50
Samwell (14)	"above 60"
Bayly (14)	"very old"
King (14)	"not old, but debilitated"
Burney (14)	"aged by debaucheries"

Fuller references to Kalaniopuu's debilitation have already been given (p. 33 above). We should, I believe, take Clerke's estimate (or even reduce it) in view of the account of early aging. Kalaniopuu died in 1782, so that his life-span on the present basis was 53 years. Kamakau makes it 79 and Fornander "over 80."

1735. KALOLA, sister and wife of Kamehamehanui, king of Maui, and also wife of Kalaniopuu and of Keoua of Hawaii. The genealogies indicate that Kalola was born after Kamehamehanui and before Kahekili, the other full brother. The birth-year may therefore be set about two years prior to that of Kahekili, next discussed. Kalola died in 1790, aged 55, as assumed.

1737. KAHEKILI, king of Maui. Observations recorded are:

Samwell (14)	in 1778	"middle-aged"
Dixon (17, p. 98)	in 1786	45 to 50
Portlock (45, p. 156)	in 1786	50
Vancouver (58, III, 305)	1793	"over 60"
Menzies (39, p. 104)	1793	"elderly"

It is of course well-known that the terms "middle-aged" and "elderly" of the eighteenth century indicated a lesser age than they do in the twentieth century. Samwell applies the term "elderly" to Kamakahelei (next to be mentioned) who was estimated to be 40—hence his "middle-aged" must be about 35. Vancouver's remark in 1793 was: "His age I suppose must have exceeded 60; he was greatly debilitated and emaciated . . ." Menzies' term "elderly" would indicate a younger man. Since Samwell gives no figures, the safest mean would be the average of Dixon's and Portlock's estimates which were made before Kahekili's military losses affected him. Kahekili was thus 49

in 1786 and 57 when he died in 1794. Kamakau states (29, May 25/67) that Kahekili died in 1793 in his 87th year. Fornander (20, II, 260) says that Kahekili was over 80 when he died in 1794. Both estimates may safely be disregarded.

1739. KAMAKAHELEI, Queen of Kauai. Surgeon Ellis, the only observer who gave figures, stated in 1779 that Kamakahalei "was short and lusty, about 40 years of age, and very plain with respect to person." Ellis over-estimated the age of Kaneoneo, mentioned below, and the present estimate may be too large. All the references found were applied to the year 1779.

Ellis (18, II, 134)	40 years
Clerke (14)	"elderly" and "old"
Burney (14)	"old"
Edgar (14)	"old"
Samwell (14)	"elderly"

Failing other observations in figures, those of Ellis are adopted.

1748. KAE0, prince of Maui and later King of Kauai. The observations are conflicting:

Vancouver (58, III, 314)	referred to 1779	18
Dixon (17, p. 121)	in 1786	"middle aged"
Portlock (45, p. 176)	in 1786	45
Vancouver (58, III, 314)	in 1793	50
Menzies (39, p. 109)	in 1793	"aged"

When Vancouver saw Kaeo in 1793, he regarded him as a much younger man than his half-brother Kahekili, "yet nearly reduced to the same state of debility." Kaeo then appeared to be 50, but recalling Vancouver's attention to their friendship established fourteen years before, Vancouver could only remember him then as a youth of 18. It should be remembered that Kaeo's son Kaumualii was regarded as "old" at the age of 40, so that rapid aging may explain part of the discrepancy. It seems best to average the figures given and place Kaeo's birth-year as 1748. Kaeo died in battle.

1754. KANEONEO, king of Kauai. Five estimates were made:

Bayly (14)	in 1778	23
Clerke (14)	in 1778	23 to 24
Edgar (14)	in 1778	25 to 26
Ellis (18, I, 173)	in 1778	30
Samwell (14)	in 1779	22 to 23

Reducing all the estimates to the year 1778, four of them range from $21\frac{1}{2}$ to $25\frac{1}{2}$, while the fifth, 30, is an apparent over-estimate. The average of the five however is $24\frac{1}{2}$, and since Samwell observed that Kaneoneo was a "hard drinker of ava", his birth-year should not be set earlier than 1754. He died in battle.

1756. KAMEHAMEHA I, king of the Hawaiian Islands. In the table are eight estimates of the age of Kamehameha made by men who saw him in the years 1793 to 1816 inclusive. The approximate accuracy of the estimates is indicated by their close agreement. The range is 9, namely from 58 to 67 for age at death, the mean of which is $4\frac{1}{2}$, or $62\frac{1}{2}$, practically identical with the age set by the averages.

	Reference Year	Age	Extended to time of death
Menzies (39, p. 64)	1793	40	66
Townsend (55, p. 8)	1798	40	61
Iselin (26, p. 75)	1807	50 or 60, av. 55	67
Campbell (9, p. 211)	1809	50	60
Franchere (22, p. 64)	1811	50 or 60, av. 55	63
Ross (48, p. 35)	1811	50	58
Patterson (43, p. 70); visits in 1806-8, writing in 1816	1816	60	63
Barnard (4, p. 286)	1816	60	63
Averaged age at death in 1819			$62\frac{5}{8}$

Adding Jarves' estimate of 66 at death (27, p. 206) as a computation from a probable earlier observation not now available, the averaged age will be 63, which on the evidence must be adopted.³ Unfortunately Kamehameha's age was not noted

³ Since the foregoing was written, Professor Kuykendall has drawn my attention to a statement by the Spaniard Marin that Kamehameha "was aged 60 years and 6 months" when he died, May 8, 1819. He further suggests, as an explanation of the

down in his youth, when more correct estimates were possible. The present estimate being based on observations late in life is undoubtedly too great. In November 1778, Kamehameha was "a youthful warrior" according to Bingham (6, p. 32) or "a mere youth" according to Jarves (27, p. 111). Such terms imply an age less than 22 as set by the combined estimates. Kotzebue was informed in 1816, when visiting Kamehameha, that his first conquest [in 1782] was "in his youth." On the present estimate the age would have been 26—somewhat beyond the "youthful" stage.

Kamehameha's wild and extravagant actions and behavior on the foreign ships in 1788 (38, p. 344), in 1789 (40, p. 52) and in 1793 (58, III, 208) were certainly more indicative of the exuberance of youth than of the dignified, elderly king which the later writers would make Kamehameha at those times. The year 1760 would probably be more correct for the birth-year than 1756 now proposed, but the average of the figures must be followed.

Kamehameha's indulgences fitted in with his times. In 1789 (40, p. 52) he carried the marks of a heavy awa drinker. Later he took a great liking to alcohol (15, I, 47). That he did not become completely enslaved by it was due, according to a legend, to the influence of his foreign adviser, John Young. Apparently in his indulgences he was moderate for his time, associations, and opportunities.

No doubt, due to this moderation, Kamehameha's life was longer than those of the other rulers, and his aging less rapid. Still, in 1815 Barnard (4, p. 218) described him as "old and

unusual exactitude in months, that the "6 months" might have referred to the difference between the death-month May, and the birth-month said to have been November (20, II, 135.)

The statement is from Minister Wyllie's translations (58a, and 45a) of extracts from the journal of Don Francisco de Paula y Marin (known to the Hawaiians as Manini) who arrived in Hawaii about 1791 (1a, p. 154) and resided here until his death in 1837. The estimate should be the most correct of any yet available. Marin was a man devoted to horticulture and stock-raising. He imported many trees and herbs, most of which were introductions to these islands. Apparently he always had the matter of age in mind as indicated by some of his journal entries. He was an intensely practical man, with steady gain as his goal, and his tendency to exactness in detail is shown by his financial accounts preserved (36a). Estimating the ages of Hawaiians should have been an easy matter for him because he lived among and intermarried with them for 46 years. As for the age of Kamehameha, Marin was closely associated with him for about a quarter century. Thus Marin not only had the opportunity to judge of Kamehameha's age, but the ability and experience as a qualification. On Marin's record, Kamehameha's birth should be set as in November, 1758.

Marin's statement also tends to confirm the suggestions above that the other estimates were too great rather than too small.

venerable looking" and next year estimated his age at 60, in agreement with the figure adopted.

The appearance of great age in the Hawaiian king no doubt deceived the Russian explorers visiting Hawaii during the last years of Kamehameha's life. Choris, the artist of the *Rurick*, writing in 1822, placed Kamehameha's age at 75 on his death in 1819, supporting his estimate by the following remark (11, p. 23): "His face when I saw him in 1817 looked like that of a septuagenarian." Despite this opinion, in his own publication the portrait of Kamehameha represents a middle-aged man. Choris (11, p. 7) overestimated John Young's age by ten years.

In 1818, six months before Kamehameha's death, Golovnin arrived on another Russian vessel, and remarked (25, p. 51) that Kamehameha "counts himself 79 years of age, which if not absolutely correct, is probably not far from the truth." What Kamehameha actually said, if anything, will never be known. Kotzebue (32, I, 309) had learned in 1816 that no account was kept of ages. Certainly Kamehameha did not give his age in years, since such was not Hawaiian custom, nor could he have known it. The informant of the officers on the Russian boats from 1816 to 1818 was the same man, Elliott de Castro, who had probably been deceived by Kamehameha's aged appearance.

A few months after the death of Kamehameha, Freycinet (23, p. 574) was informed that he had reached the age of 70. This is more reasonable than the Russians' estimates of 75 and 79, but all estimates made at such a period should be rejected if observations taken earlier in life exist.

None of the observations recorded by the voyagers reach Kamakau's figures published in 1865. We may safely reject the birth-year given by Kamakau as 1736, and equally so the estimate of the same author (29, Sept. 14, 1867) as 1726. At the time of Kamehameha's death, Kamakau was four years old and probably gave no thought to the king's age until 46 years later, when the chronological table was being prepared.

It may be of interest to observe that of Kamehameha's descendents who ruled, none reached an age of more than 42 years (Cf. Table I), while all his contemporary relatives predeceased him.

1756. KAIANA, a prince from Maui and later chief and

general in Hawaii. Meares (38, p. 7) in 1788 estimated the age as 32.

1760. KALANIKUPULE, king of Oahu and son of Kahekili. In 1793 Vancouver (58, III, 357) estimated the age as 33, with a remark on his subject's drawn face and haggard appearance, due inferentially to awa. Bingham (6, p. 38) refers to Kalanikupule as "a youthful son of Kahekili" at the conquest of Maui in 1790. Vancouver's figure may therefore be an overestimate, due to the poor physical condition of his subject.*

1766. KEAWE, king of Kauai. This was the son of Queen Kamakahalei, prior to her marriage to Kaeo, to whom she bore Kaumualii in 1780. The following observations are all in the year 1779:

Bayly (14)	14
Edgar (14)	12 to 13
Ellis (18, II, 135)	12
King (14)	14
Samwell (14)	10

Averaged age 12½ in March, 1779.

This average should be adopted. In 1787 Portlock (45, p. 180) observed a Keawe (Taaevee) a son of Kaeo, as then 12 years old (reduced birth-year, 1775.) Kaeo's son was Kaumualii, born in 1780. Either Portlock was in error, or Kaeo had another son named Keawe whose existence has escaped notice.

1769. KALAIMOKU, prince of Maui and premier of the Hawaiian Islands.

	Reference year	Observation
Chamisso (32, III, 240)		
at conquest of island	1782	"a child"
Ellis (19, p. 131)	1782	"a youth"
Vancouver (58, III, 271)	1793	24
Stewart (50, p. 98)	1823	50 to 60
Bingham (6, p. 307)	1827	"venerable"

Kalaimoku died in 1827, aged 58 according to the figures presented. It is interesting to observe that Kamakau (29, July

*In an earlier paper (51, table 5) evaluating Polynesian genealogies applied to history, I was unduly influenced by the locally accepted ideas on Hawaiian kings' ages, and in table 5 of that publication assigned to Kalanikupule a generational position of 6. This figure should be reduced to 5, followed by a reduction by 1 in all the upper figures in the same column.

15/65) places the birth-year of Kalaimoku as 1768, although right after that of Kaahumanu given below.

1775. KUAKINI I, son of Queen Namahana, and elder brother of Queen Kaahumanu. The birth-year 1775 is adopted on Vancouver's estimate (58, III, pp. 270, 272) of the age of this chief in 1793 as 18.

A correct estimate of the age of this chief and of his sister Kaahumanu is important in order to establish the date assigned to the death of Kamehamehanui, king of Maui, to the succession by his brother Kahekili, and to events preceding the arrival of Captain Cook.

Fornander dates the death of Kamehamehanui as in 1765. However in November, 1778, war over the succession was in progress following the king's supposedly recent death. In February 1779, Maui natives still had their bodies marked in mourning for the same king (14, Samwell). Obviously there is an error of about a decade in Fornander's figure.

Fornander (20, II, 213) attributes to Kamehamehanui, by Namahana, one of his sister-queens, two sons who died young. Of these, Kuakini was the younger. Namahana, as soon as widowed, sent for the Hawaii chief Keeaumoku to become her new husband (6, p. 29). Some genealogies make Kuakini the eldest son of Keeaumoku. Obviously Namahana was pregnant to Kamehamehanui with Kuakini at the time of her second marriage, and the son when born would belong to Keeaumoku according to Hawaiian custom. This "double paternity" of Kuakini is still referred to by some Hawaiians today.

This was apparently being explained to Vancouver in 1793 (58, III, 272), when he thought he was listening to court scandal regarding the origin of Kuakini: "This youth was the reputed son of Terreeoboo [Kalaniopuu] by Namahanna, the favorite wife of Kahowmotoo [Keeaumoku], but report whispered that he was a much nearer relation than that of cousin to Tamaahmaah [Kamehameha I]." Vancouver has here confused Kamehameha I of Hawaii, present at the time, with Kamehameha-nui of Maui, previously dead, and has undoubtedly mixed up two accounts. Kamehameha-nui of Maui had two sister-wives. One of them Kalola, subsequently married Kalaniopuu and bore him his heir. The other, Namahana, has already been mentioned as the mother of Kuakini and wife of Keeaumoku.

Thus Vancouver's contemporary account serves to identify this Kuakini, and with the other accounts, establish the death of Kamehamehanui as in 1775, or at earliest 1774.

Bell (5, p. 88) witnessed the death in 1794 of a young chief named Watea, the son of Keeaumoku and step-brother of Kaahumanu. He had had a long illness due to an unhealed wound and "his face was worn down to that of a skeleton." Bell than estimated his age as 25. Vancouver (58, V, 19) refers to him as "Whokaa", the favorite son of Keeaumoku. This was of course Kuakini I, who the previous year had been known to Vancouver as "Quoti or Kookinney;" adoption of new names was a common practice among Hawaiian chiefs. So far as the difference in estimates is concerned, Vancouver's estimate of 18 in 1793, when Kuakini was in perfect health, must be accepted before that of 25 in 1794 by Bell, who apparently observed Kuakini for the first time only half-an-hour before his death.

Concerning Kaahumanu, to be next discussed, Fornander shows that Namahana and her new husband, Keeaumoku, settled at Waihee, Maui. Thence they were driven by the new king, Kahekili, and pursued from place to place until they found refuge in Hana, Maui, then in possession of the king of Hawaii. While dwelling there as refugees, their daughter Kaahumanu was born, as the native record (6, p. 30) is, "during the time of her parents' destitution." This date is set by Fornander (20, II, 150) as 1768, but the evidence in hand indicates 1777:

1777. KAAHUMANU, favorite wife of Kamehameha I. I adopt this date on the basis of the first observation, which is supported by the average of the next two—noted down during Kaahumanu's life.

			Extended to death
Vancouver (58, III, 204)	in 1793	16	55
Quoy (23, p. 532)	in 1819	43	56
Stewart (50, p. 95)	in 1823	40 to 50,	54
			av. 45
Jarves (27, p. 296)	age at death in 1832		57
Bingham (6, p. 29)	age at death in 1832		59

Bingham while adopting the year 1773 (6, p. 29) as that in which Kaahumanu was born, seems to have based all his calculations on the claim that Kaahumanu was 8 years old (6, p. 37) at the battle of Mokuohai, when Kamehameha killed Kiwalao.

He clearly makes one error, if not two. The event mentioned is well established as 1782 (p. 35 above) but Bingham, though references to the rulers, indicates (6, p. xvi) that it was in 1780, and (6, p. 80) again in 1781, thus allowing three birth years of Kaahumanu to arise from his figures, namely 1772, 1773, and 1774. As he shows in other parts of his book, Kaahumanu was a remarkable woman.

As for the age of 8, it is certain that Kaahumanu never gave her age in years. The most that would be done by herself or her attendants would be to indicate her size at the time by reference to some child in sight. An estimate of age could thus be made. However the descriptions of Kaahumanu and her sisters indicate rapid early development, so that Bingham's estimate of her age would undoubtedly be too high. I reject Bingham's figures on this probability and the error of the battle date.

The birth-year 1768 assigned to Kaahumanu by Kamakau and Fornander must also be rejected, despite Fornander's opinion of the intelligence of the early explorers quoted on p. 25 above. If, with Kaahumanu's large frame, Vancouver gave her age in 1793 as 16, it was more likely to have been a high than a low estimate. She could not then have been 25 as Fornander maintained.

1780. KALAKUA, younger sister of Kaahumanu; wife of Kalaimamahu and of Kamehameha I.

Six children are referred to as born to Namahana after her marriage to Keeaumoku. The youngest was Kuakini II, said (31) to have been born at the time of Kepuwahaulaula battle, namely in 1791. Approximate spacing between the birth years of Kaahumanu and Kuakini II would suggest the following birth-years for the others:

Kaahumanu	1777
Kalakua	1780
Keeaumoku opio	1784
Piia or Namahana opio	1787
Kuakini II	1791

Kalakua died in 1842, being then 62 years old as assumed.

Kamakau states that Hoapili-wahine (alternate name of Kalakua) was born in 1778. This is the date assigned by Richards (46), Kaauhaukini (28), and Poli (42) to the birth of Hoapili-

kane, which Kamakau in turn had moved forward to 1776. Kamakau's unconfirmed dates are seldom acceptable.

1780. KEOPUOLANI, the high tabu princess of Hawaii and Maui, and official queen of Kamehameha I.

On native authority (47, p. 10) Keopuolani is said to have been born two years before the death of her father which occurred, as well known, at the battle of Mokuohai in July 1782. Fornander (20, II, 312) states that she "was then but an infant." She was not born in the early part of 1779 when island politics and succession in Maui and Hawaii were discussed by the natives with King (13, III, 156) and Ellis (18, II, 187).

Richards (47, p. 9) prepared a biography of Keopuolani about the time she died, but erred in placing her birth-year as in 1778. This error was obviously based on another, published on the same page, namely that Cook arrived at the island of Hawaii in 1777, instead of the correct year 1779. A recognition of this error of two years confirms Keopuolani's birth-year as 1780, namely a year after Cook's arrival at Hawaii island. Strange as it may appear, Kamakau (29, Feb. 29/68) also affirms 1780 as her birth year, although (29, Mch. 21/68) he states that in 1823 she died in her forty-fifth year.

Keopuolani bore 11 children of whom only three reached adolescence. She aged rapidly, and died at 43. Before being overtaken by her last illness in 1823, Stewart (50, p. 172) regarded her as a "venerable old lady." Bingham (6, p. 192) referred to her as "the aged queen", while she regarded herself as "old" as did the natives.

1780. KAUMUALII, King of Kauai. This birth-year has been fully discussed on p. 32 above. Bingham's calculation (6, p. 48) that Kaumualii was 16 in July, 1796, adds further confirmation to the adopted date.

1784. KEEAUMOKU II, son of Keeaumoku and Nama-hana. The basis for establishing this date is given above. Keeaumoku II died in 1824—40 years old as assumed.

1787. PIIA or NAMAHAHA, younger sister of Kaahumanu and Keeaumoku II, and wife of Kamehameha I. This date is discussed above. Kotzebue (32a, II, 207) in 1824 remarked that she "appeared at the utmost not more than forty years old." Piiia died in 1829, aged 42 as assumed.

1791. KUAKINI II, youngest son of Keeaumoku and Namahana, born (31) the same year as the battle of Kepuwahaulaula, namely 1791. Freycinet (23, p. 521) made a good estimate of this chief's age in 1819, placing it at "28 or 29". Stewart, remarking of the chief's great bulk in 1823, said he was "only a little over 25 years old", an unusual under-estimate by this writer because Kuakini was then 32. He died in 1844, aged 53.

1794. KEKAULUOHI, daughter of Kalaimamahu and Kalakua, and wife of Kamehameha I and Kamehameha II. There are in hand but two references to age. The Friend (24, p. 93) notes in 1845 that Kekauluohi had died, aged 51. A reminiscence of 1845 by Gilman (56, p. 50) published in 1910 mentions that at her death Kekauluohi was in her fiftieth year. I adopt the earlier publication as being probably the more correct.

1796. LIHOLIHO, Kamehameha II, son of Keopuolani and Kamehameha I. The many observations on this age agree fairly well:

	Reference year	Age	Extended to death
Campbell (9, p. 213)	in 1810	15	29
Cox (15, p. 46)	in 1812	20	32
Kotzebue (32, I, 309)	in 1816	22	30
Freycinet (23, p. 528)	in 1819	24 or 25	28½
Choris (11, p. 21)	referred to 1819	20	25
Mathison (37, p. 444)	referred to 1819	20	25
Ellis (19, p. 455)	"born in 1795-6"		28½
Richards (47, p. 12)	"born in 1796"		28
Jarves (27, p. 199)	"born in 1795"		29
Blonde account (8, p. 66)	"at death in 1824"		28
Averaged age at death in 1824			28¾

1797. HUMEHUME, known also as George Tamoree, son of Kaumualii, king of Kauai. The observations are very indirect and contradictory.

Sarr (49, p. 138)	12 years old in 1803
[rejected as an obvious error]	
Sarr (49, p. 378, 379)	6 years old in 1803
Stewart (50, pp. 19, 96)	9 years old in 1805
Narrative (41, p. 33)	18 years old in 1816

The averaged birth-year would be 1797, which seems reason-

able since Humehume must have been at least 16 years old in 1813. He was then in the American navy and was wounded when boarding an English vessel. Humehume died in 1826, being then 29 as assumed.

1801. KAMEHAMALU or Kamamalu, wife of Kamehameha II and daughter of Kalakua and Kamehameha I. The observations are:

			At Death
Freycinet (23, pp. 530, 571)	in 1819	17	22
Ellis (19, p. 461)	in 1823	26	27
Stewart (50, p. 87)	in 1823	20 or 22	22
Blonde account (8, p. 66)	at death in 1824		22
Averaged age at death in 1824			23¼

The estimate by Rev. Wm. Ellis, generally regarded as a good observer, seems unduly high, but he supports it with the statement that Kamehamalu was born two years later than her husband. The latter event Ellis stated was in 1795 or 1796—an observation confirmed by many others, as above. It seems best to average the figures.

DATES FOR CORRECTION

As may be readily perceived, observations on the living personages must be accepted as more correct than those which were evolved many years after the characters had died, and consequently many dates passed along as historical by Kamakau, Fornander, and others must be modified. The birth-year of Kamehameha I is a pivotal point, and on it depend the dates of Alapai's invasions of Maui, Molokai, and Oahu, the death of Kekaulike of Maui, the death of Kapiiōhokalani of Oahu, and other nearly historical items. The reference point should be moved on twenty years, namely from 1736 to 1756. Establishment of the age of Kuakini I as about 1775 will be the means of moving on the date of the death of Kamehamehanui and succession by Kahekili, and of readjusting the dates of the many wars between Maui and Hawaii—some of which a closer study might eliminate. The change would be from the datum point of 1765 to 1775. Another move of a decade is indicated by changing the death-year of Peleiohōlani from 1770 to 1779 or 1780, which will have the effect of concentrating Oahu history of the period in a reasonable way.

Further correlation of the incidents on all the islands subsequent to Cook's arrival with the journals of the many voyagers is possible and desirable, but is outside the plan of the present paper.

DATES FROM GENEALOGIES

Earlier dates than those possible through direct observation on ages of chiefs must be approximated by means of generational counts in the royal genealogies, multiplied by the years representative of a generation.

EVALUATION OF GENEALOGIES

There is, of course, a limit to the usefulness of these genealogies for the purpose of establishing dates, because, as pointed out in a previous paper (51, pp. 18 ff) the earlier portions are cosmogonies. The parts of the genealogies which seem to refer to human beings extend back on the unmodified lists to Maweke on the Nanaulu lines, to Paumakua on the Puna line and to Pili and possibly Hanalaa on the Hema line. The period from these names to the times of Kamehameha I, I shall refer to as "traditional", divided at the name of Liloa into "early" and "late."

The parts prior to these names should be regarded as in the mythical period until other Polynesian details, not at present available in Hawaii, warrant their being moved into the traditional period of Hawaii.

Suggestions (59, p. 7; 10, p. 45) have been made that the lists of names, termed genealogies, were successions to the throne and not genealogies. If so, very different results might be obtained from their use. This is illustrated in table II (compiled from Fornander) of the successions and genealogies of the Hawaii sovereigns from Liloa to the end of the absolute monarchy. Eighteen rulers occupied the throne, but the generations were no more than 12 or 14, depending upon the genealogy followed. Thus the number of accessions to the throne might be as much as 50% greater than that of the generations. The additional number in this list of reigns was due to successions by brothers and to usurpations.

However, details of the traditions of this later period appear to leave no room for confusion of successions to the throne with

TABLE II

SUCCESSIONS AND GENEALOGIES OF HAWAII SOVEREIGNS; COMPILED FROM FORNANDER

<i>Line of Succession</i>	<i>Genealogies</i>			<i>Short</i>	<i>Order of birth</i>
	<i>Long</i>	<i>Order of birth</i>	<i>Order of birth</i>		
1. Liloa	1. Liloa, k.	1.	1.	Liloa, k.	1.
2. Son Hakau					
3. Half-brother Umi	2. [Umi, k. and half-] [sister Kapukini]	2 or 3.	2.	[Umi, k. and half-] [sister Kapukini]	2 or 3.
4. Son Keliokaloa	3. Keliokaloa, k. (3rd of Umi, 1st of Kapukini)	3 & 1.	3 & 1.		
5. Brother Keawanui	4. Kukailani, k.	1.	3.	Keawanui, k. (3rd of Kapukini)	3.
6. Great-niece Kaikilani	5. Kaikilani, w.	1.	4.	Kanaloakuaana, k.	1.
7. Son Keakealani	6. [Keakealani, k.]	1.	5.	[Keakealani, k.]	1.
8. Daughter Keakamahana	7. [Kealiokalani, w.]	2.	6.	[Kealiokalani, w.]	2.
9. Daughter Keakealaniwahine	8. Keakamahana, w.	1.	7.	Keakamahana, w.	1.
10. Son Keawe and daughter Kalanikauleleiaiwi	9. Keawe, k.	1.	8.	Keakealaniwahine, w. [Keawe, k.]	1.
11. Kalaninuiamamao, son of Keawe, and Keeaumoku, son of the mating Half-brother Alapai	10. Kalaninuiamamao, k.	1.	9.	[Kalanikauleleiaiwi, w.] Keeaumoku, k. (1st of the mating, tho' 2nd of each)	2.
12. Son Keaweopala					
13. Cousin Kalaniopuu	11. Kalaniopuu, k.	1.	10.	Keoua, k.	1.
14. Son Kiwalao	12. Kiwalao, k.	1.	11.	Kamehameha, k.	2.
15. Cousin Kamehameha	13. Keopuolani, w., (born 1780)	1.	12.	Liholiho, k., (childless)	?
16. Son Liholiho	14. Liholiho, k., (childless)	2.	12.	Kaukeauli, k., (childless)	
17. Brother Kaukeauli	14. Kaukeauli, k., (childless)				
18.					
19. Nephew Alexander	15. Alexander, k.		13.	Alexander, k.	
20. Brother Lot	15. Lot, k.		13.	Lot, k.	

Summary, time of Kaukeauli; 18 reigns; 14 generations (10 male, 4 female) on long genealogy and 12 generations (10 male, 2 female) on short genealogy. k.—kane, "male"; w.—wahine, "female"; marriages indicated by bracketing.

the genealogies. Furthermore, a list of mere successions would be valueless for the purpose for which the royal genealogies were maintained. As previously explained (54, pp. 16 ff.) the genealogy was the document establishing the identity of the living king or divine chief with the ancestral gods through the matter of direct descent—in other words it was the patent for the occupancy of the throne as asserted through the line of assumed blood inheritance from the gods. In brief, we must regard the genealogical lists, so far as correctly related, as attempts to record the true or accepted descent from parent to child, and not merely succession to the throne.

The matter of absolute correctness of the genealogies of the traditional period is beyond the range of this paper. There are perhaps hundreds of genealogical books extant in the Hawaiian Islands. The many examined seem to have had a common origin—obviously a record of the nineteenth century—and the variations noted may be due to errors of transcription, ignorance of the copyists, or the pull of family pride.

CHECK OF GENEALOGIES

A check with a partial record in the eighteenth century would indicate that the main record of the nineteenth century for the traditional period was as correct as might be for a genealogy so preserved. And having no other, we may proceed with fair confidence in it.

The check mentioned was the brief genealogies of the Hawaii and Maui kings given in 1779 to Surgeon Ellis and Lieutenant King at Kealakekua Bay, undoubtedly by the genealogical priest of Hikiau temple where King was stationed. They are arranged in table III, with comparisons taken from genealogies recorded (mostly by Fornander) which, with the interpretations given, they confirm more than they deny.

It is evident from examination of table III that Ellis and King were simultaneously recording the same information, each with his own style of spelling, but that one was interpreting for the other. The genealogies were presented by these writers with the assumed contemporaries paragraphed together under the numbers indicated on the left margin of the table.

No. 2 in the Hawaii line is unrepresented in the local records,

TABLE III

VARIATIONS OF GENEALOGIES RECORDED IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES —HAWAII LINE—

Ellis, (18, II, 184-6)

King (14)

1. Kapo'orahoo-awyka'ah

Poorahoo'awly'kaia

2. Son, Kunnaro'oa-gooah

Son, Neeroagooa

3. Three sons, Kahaa-va,

Three sons, eldest, Kahavee

4. Kahaa-va's son,

Son, Ka'ye'newee, a mummow

5. Two sons, Terriaboo

Two sons, Terreeoboo

and Kaoo-wah.

and Kaihooa.

Terriaboo married Kororah

Terreeoboo married To'roro or

of Maui; their

Roraro of Maui; their

6. Son, Koorahow, who married

Son, Teewaroh, who married Roaho,

Roahow, an earlier daughter

an earlier daughter of To'roro.

of Kororah.

Kaihooa had a son, Maiha Maiha.

1. Kowmo-ko'a-ka'ah

Makoakea

—MAUI LINE—

Kalani-kaumakaowakea

2. Son, Pappika-neeow

Son, Papikanceow

Lonohonuakini

Sons:

Umi-a-Liloa

3. Son, Kahow-reeka

Son, Ka'owreeka

Son:

Kaulahea

4. Two sons, Kamah-mah and

Two sons, Maiha Maiha and Tahee-

Tahi-teere. The first married

Daughter:

Kororah who bore him a

who bore him a

Papaikaniau

5. Daughter, Roa-how, who married

Daughter, Roaho, who married her

brother Teewaroh.

Son, Kekaulike

(Lonoikaniau)

6. Daughter, Roa-how, who married

Daughter, Roaho, who married her

Son, Kamehamehanui, daughter Kalola

her brother Koorahow.

terree. The first married To'roro

and son Kahekili. Kalola first married,

7. Daughter, Roa-how, who married

who bore him a

Kalanikauiokikilo, Kalola later mar-

8. Daughter, Roa-how, who married

Daughter, Roaho, who married her

ried Kalaniopuu and Keoua of Hawaii

9. Daughter, Roa-how, who married

Daughter, Roaho, who married her

and bore to them respectively a

10. Daughter, Roa-how, who married

Daughter, Roaho, who married her

Son, Kiwaloo, and a daughter, Kekui-

11. Daughter, Roa-how, who married

Daughter, Roaho, who married her

poiwanui-Liliha, who married.

Forlander and others

Kanaloa-kapulehu or Kanaloa-kauiwewa,

royal consort of Queen Keakealani-

wahine

Son, Keawe

Two sons, Kalaniniuiamamao and Kee-

aumoku, who married the same wife

and begat respectively—

The sons, Kalaniopuu and Keoua, who

married Kalola of Maui, who bore to

them respectively—

A son, Kiwaloo, and a daughter, Ke-

kuiapoivanui-Liliha. These two mar-

ried. By another wife, Keoua had a

son, Kamehameha.

which in the Maui line have an extra generation in the same position. Allowing for possible inconsistencies, I suggest that this name (probably pronounced "Kanaloa-kua") is explanatory of the first name (rendered in Hawaiian form as "Kapulehu-a-Waikea.")

The father of Keawe in the nineteenth century records was Kanalokaikawilewa one of whose alternate names was Kanalokaipulehu. This name was also that of a great-uncle. The grandfather was named Kanaloka-ana and another great uncle, Kanaloka-kawaiea. Probably the native genealogist was explaining to the naval men that Kanalokaikawilewa had more than one god-father.

On the Maui line, the second king of the nineteenth century record was Lonohonuakini, not Papaikaniau who is noted as his niece. However, Papaikaniau might also have been an alternate name of Lonohonuakini, or there may have been confusion with Lonoikaniau, the alternate name of Papaikaniau.

The Roahow, No. 5 on the Maui line, is probably Loeau—a family name in her time—and was no doubt an alternate name for the daughter of Kalola by Keoua, and not by Kamehamehanui.

In the other comparisons, as already intimated, the agreement is found to be remarkable, once the spelling of the English officers is understood.

MEASURE OF A GENERATION

The genealogies of Hawaiian royalty in the traditional period being acceptable as a basis for calculating dates, it remains to ascertain an appropriate unit of length for the generation. This will be the age of the parent at the birth of the child next in the genealogy.

Malo (35, pp. 80, 179) implies that this age is not great. There was a special mating with the highest-born available (cf. 19, pp. 445-6), in order that the blood of the heir should be of the bluest. However, the mating was arranged, and was not necessarily the choice of the parties, who were segregated beforehand and restrained from any previous intercourse. Elsewhere we learn of the reigning sovereign arranging such matches for the next in line. So, taken with Malo's statement, it is obvious that these matings occur as soon as the young princes

and princesses are of reproductive age. There are more than one reason for such early marriages. (1) The needs of the country, that the perpetuation of the divine chiefly line be assured, would make it a matter of sacred duty for the king and his counsellors not to neglect for fear of national disaster. (2) Delay much beyond the age of puberty, among people not otherwise restricting sex-intercourse, would probably be impracticable despite the prescribed segregation. We may therefore enquire into the ordinary age of expected parenthood of the Hawaiian people least influenced by modern culture.

Unfortunately for the present enquiry, this modern culture makes it difficult to ascertain the facts. Not merely does it tend to retard the age of reproduction by influence of precept and example, but also by the law regulating the age of consent. The retardation however is not always successful, but the registration does not indicate it for the reason that the information is recorded "as received" and is unverified.

We may suspect from the record examined—the first four books of the local birth registrations for the year 1919—that all the facts have not been told. The registrations mentioned totalled 1200, and the parents of 102 of the children were designated as Hawaiian. From these, table IV is drawn up, and it may appear extraordinary that there were only 12 mothers with their first children, as against 22 mothers with their second and 14 with their third. Furthermore, the age of four of the mothers with a first child is given as 17, while the husbands of three of them have given their age as 19—figures of course which allow for the age of consent. In other words there is reason to suspect that 25% of the registrations were of very young parents whose ages were falsified to satisfy the law.

By the time the second child arrived, apparently, the thought of the law was not uppermost. Second children, not twins, are registered to mothers of 17 and upwards—clear indication of early reproduction.

Statistics concerning the first three children are fully reported in the table. These account for nearly half the registrations. About a third of the remainder are selected and given under the captions of 4th to 15th children. These indicate that 4th and 6th children have been born to mothers of 20 years of age; 10th children to mothers aged 28, 30 and 32; 11th children to mothers

aged 27, 30 and 32, and a 15th child to a mother aged 35. Probably very few of the children in these families were twins because, of the 102 registrations, twins were only mentioned twice and those not in the groups discussed. It means either that these mothers must have commenced bearing when very young, or they were registering the children of other mothers.

I am informed that despite the law of consent and the supposed precept and example, many children are still being born to very young parents, and one of the methods of satisfying the law (in addition to falsifying the parents' ages) is for an older couple to register the new arrival as their own. An escape from the dilemma of course is not to register at all, which, in the general absence of an attending physician in such cases is quite possible.

The registered ages of the fathers of the children is not necessarily an indication that they had not begotten children earlier than the one whose birth was being recorded.

REPRODUCTION AT EARLY AGE

Modern statistical records are thus of little value for such a study as the present. From the statistics examined, it would appear, after averaging the data, that the Hawaiian mother may expect her first child when 18 or 19, her second when 21 and third when 23. Under early native conditions, the first child should be expected as soon as the mother is old enough to bear. In 1778 and 1779, Surgeon Ellis (18, II, 153) and others observed the lack of reserve among the mass of the Hawaiian women in approaching the men, and remarked: "They are initiated into this way of life at a very early period; we saw some who could not be more than ten years old." Guerin (23, p. 574) noted in 1819 that the girls were of marriageable age at 11, but that it was not rare to find those who reached that condition at 9 or 10. There are no early data on the ages of the young men on their first contact.

The only means of gathering comparable facts may be enquiries in the country districts where, in scattered homes, remnants of ancient customs may be expected to survive. Enquiries in 1932 brought out the following information:

A physician (E. S. G.) with more than 40 years practice in the country districts of Kauai, Hawaii, and Molokai, gives the

age of expected first motherhood as 13 to 14, with sporadic earlier ages. The age of expected paternity he places at 15 to 16.

A nurse (D. R. S.) with ten years experience in the country districts of Kauai, Maui, and Hawaii states that motherhood is common at 13, and she has knowledge of three cases of motherhood at 11. The ages were taken from the school records. She had little information on the ages of the young fathers, but knew of "many at 17."

A Hawaiian widow (K. K.) places the age of expected motherhood at 14 to 15 and of paternity at 16 to 17.

The director (S. D. P.) of the local psychological clinic, as a summary of his questionings, places the age of expected first motherhood at 13 or 14. His data on the age of expected paternity were negligible.

On current data then it is evident that motherhood may normally be expected between the ages of 13 and 15 and fatherhood between the ages of 15 and 17, while still younger parentage may occur. This is with Hawaiians today. In the more open and less restricted life of earlier days, the ages of expected parenthood must have been less, especially among the chiefs. These were described as a class by voyagers and travellers as always larger bodied and better developed than the commoners, on whose descendants the statistical observations above were made. In any case, the chiefs were always more sure of a food supply than were the commoners, and were specially groomed by attendants, so that in all probability they matured earlier.

UNIT OF MEASUREMENT

A conservative estimate then of the age of expected parenthood for early Hawaiian chiefs would be 16 for the men and 14 for the women, with earlier probabilities. On such a basis, a unit of 15 years for a royal Hawaiian generation, as suggested by Yzendoorn (59, p. 7) and Cartwright (10, p. 47), might well be correct. However, such does not allow for contingencies, although the very few early observations offer some support, as in the following references:

Kamehameha's royal or official wife was Keopuolani, who, according to Richards (47, p. 12), was married in 1791, namely a year after the battle of Kepaniwai established as in 1790. Born in 1780, Keopuolani was thus 11 years old when married. Her

first child died young. The second, Liholiho, was born in 1796. Keopuolani thus bore a child between 1792 and 1795, when between the ages of 12 and 15, and at 16 bore another.

Kalakua, born in 1780 was observed in 1794 by Vancouver as the wife of Kalaimamahu. Their daughter, Kekauluohi, dying in 1845 aged 51, was thus born in 1794, so that Kalakua was bearing viable children at 14.

Kaahumanu, the favorite wife of Kamehameha was born in 1777. There is agreement in the traditions that she was married in 1785—the date being ascertained as coincident with certain wars. On this basis, she was 8 years old when married—certainly not more than 10, the age deduced from Jarves' figures. Bingham would make the age 13 on data shown to be erroneous (MS above). Kaahumanu was childless, and the reference to her merely serves to illustrate that early marriages were practiced by members of Hawaiian royalty.

I can find no other references to the reproductive ages of princesses of the eighteenth century. Of the princes, Kaumualii, born in 1780, was the father of several sons. We have data on one, Humehume, who was the fourth son according to Bingham (6, p. 80); a genealogy at the Bishop Museum makes him the third son, although Stewart (50, p. 118) states he was the eldest. Apparently Humehume was born in 1797, making Kaumualii 17 years old at the time. With two or three brothers preceding Humehume, Kaumualii's fatherhood must have been reached at the age of 15 or less.

In 1792 Manby (36, June, p. 23) recorded a jocular remark by Kaumualii concerning the number of his wives—at least so Manby understood. Considering the descriptions of Kaumualii's development, it is quite within reason to expect to find him married at this time.

Liholiho was childless. However, in 1819 when 23 years old, he was observed to be equipped with five queens (3, II, 147). It is doubtful if he married them all at one time, and he was probably married early. Campbell (9, p. 180) in Honolulu in 1810, stated that Liholiho was then invested with royal honors, a dignity somewhat empty without the queen.

BASIC UNIT

The basic reproductive ages being assumed at 16 for males

and 14 for females, it is necessary to reduce the two to a common factor. I follow in particular the long genealogy in table II as an example of royal records in the late traditional period. In the list are the names of 4 females. On Maui, for the same period, there are none, and on Oahu, 2. In all, there was inheritance through 6 females out of 34 generations, counting to the extermination of the lines. With the assumed difference of 2 years between the male and female ages, the average age of reproduction would be a little less than $15\frac{1}{3}$ years on the basis of the data available. This might be set at $15\frac{1}{2}$ years, to which of course must be added allowances for contingencies. This figure should also hold well enough in the early traditional period, because following along the three lines descending from Maweke (which Fornander regarded as the most reliable), descent through the female is noted five times in the 33 generations.

REGULARITY OF INHERITANCE

Before proceeding further, it will be necessary to point to the distinction between inheritance through the parent intended by the reigning sovereign to succeed himself, and through a usurping scion of the royal family. The first results in a genealogy theoretically reliable enough to base calculations on, and is approached by the longer line in table II. The second is too irregular to use with confidence, and is illustrated by the shorter genealogy in the same table.

Malo (35, p. 179) emphasizes the importance and prestige attaching to inheritance through the first-born—in fact, he limits the ritual of the special royal mating to preparations for the first-born. Glancing through the long genealogy in table II, it will be observed that the royal line has been perpetuated through the first-born in nearly every instance. The matings being arranged to secure the blue-blooded heir without delay, we may be sure that the young parents are no older than necessary to be reproductive. Furthermore, they are not allowed to choose mates for themselves until the heir is secured, according to Malo.

INTERRUPTIONS THROUGH USURPATIONS

The usurpations told of are all by royal children, either younger brothers or half-brothers of the heir. These sons, not specially

mated in their youth, presumably chose their own wives. The latter, although supposed to be from among the chiefly caste, would not be as high as the one selected by the state. Later on, after gaining the throne, new marriages with higher born mates are contracted in order to elevate the rank of the usurper's heir. A gap is thus to be expected between the reproductive age of the usurper and his age when securing an heir of sufficiently high blood to occupy the throne and transmit the royal strain. The clearest illustration is that of Kamehameha who usurped the throne after killing his cousin and foster-brother, the occupant. Although having earlier wives and children, Kamehameha did not, until 40 years of age, secure the son he finally selected as his successor, and then by a mother who was assumably the rightful heir, the daughter of the slaughtered monarch.

Through this usurpation, a generation has been skipped in the shorter genealogy (Table II). In that by Keawenui, another generation was skipped, so that the period of the 13 generations in the longer genealogy is equalled by that of the 11 generations in the shorter. However, since the unit of measurement to be proposed is based on the longer genealogies, these two usurpations will not affect results. They illustrate the need of avoiding short genealogies in compiling chronologies.

Another usurpation, or more correctly, a restoration of the royal line, was that by Kalaniopuu, to be discussed below.

ADDITIONS TO BASIC UNIT

We may now take up the matter of contingencies and estimate the additions which should be made to the basic unit of $15\frac{1}{2}$ years. Among the contingencies are to be noted: (1) Continuance of the line through others than the recorded first-born; (2) Unrecorded death of the first-born when young; (3) Time awaiting marriageable age of official mate; (4) Partial sterility of parents; (5) Interruptions in the succession; (6) Homosexuality.

(1) Inheritance through later children than the first-born is shown in the long genealogy in table II in but two instances, Umi and Liholiho. Liholiho will be considered in the next paragraph. On Oahu and Maui genealogies there are each three references to displacement or succession by brothers of the first-born—in all, five by the second child and one by the third. The

number of generations covered in the three genealogies is 34, and if a two year interval be allowed between births, the addition of half a year to the basic age will be more than sufficient to allow for the contingency.

(2) Unrecorded death of the first-born when young. It is doubtful if the genealogies would record the death of young children. Even with the children of Keopuolani, born in near-historical times, it is not generally known that the first died young. Richards records this. Kamakau states that Liholiho was the oldest, but more than 40 years before Kamakau wrote, Richards had received full particulars from Keopuolani's Hawaiian contemporaries. The basic age might be increased by another half year for this contingency.

(3) Time waiting marriageable age of younger mate designated. If Kaahumanu were married at 8, or even 10, and Kaumualii had wives when 12, the chances of delay beyond the basic age seems small. However, another half year might be added to take care of this item.

(4) Sterility. We find Liholiho childless, despite his five wives—all close relatives. Most of his widows bore children to other husbands. This king being inbred—the product of uncle and niece—the close relationship may have been the cause of his infertility, or this may have been due to modern influences. Kamehameha I had 21 wives and children by only 9 of them according to Bingham (6, p. 53). His favorite wife was apparently sterile, since she bore no children to Kamehameha, to her paramours, or to her later husbands. Her sister and co-wife Piia was also childless. However, another sister and co-wife bore three children to two husbands.

Such of course is somewhat recent information. In the traditional period the genealogies and accounts indicate fertility in the marriages of full brother and sister and half-brother and sister. The only reference to sterility or delayed fertility applied to Queen Kaikilani. She bore no children to her favorite consort Lono, who however had children by other wives. Kaikilani was also married to Lono's elder brother whose children carried on the royal line. Some of the Lono accounts approach myth. However, we may add another half year as an average due to partial sterility.

(5) Interruptions to the succession. There is but one record

of this kind which affects the length of the generational unit. Kalaniopuu's father had been killed in civil wars in which he and his brothers participated. Finally, Alapai, one of the half-brothers, was strong enough to seize the kingdom. He was succeeded by his son who was afterwards killed by Kalaniopuu.

In 1779, Kalaniopuu's eldest son of record, and his heir, was spoken of as young—as implied, just old enough to be married. If 16 years old, or possibly 18, he was born in 1761 when Kalaniopuu was 32 years old. He may have been born after Kalaniopuu gained the throne, because his mother was the high-princess of Maui, full-sister to two of its kings. It is certain that if Kalaniopuu were very young when his father was killed, he would not have been selected for the special royal mating by the usurper Alapai, especially when the latter had a son of his own.

An allowance in the time unit should be added for this delayed heir of Kalaniopuu, although it is the only such case noted in the genealogy. Taking the birth-year of Kalaniopuu as 1729, and that of his granddaughter Keopuolani as 1780, or of her son in 1796, and apportioning the difference among 13 generations, the addition to the generational unit will be about $1\frac{1}{2}$ years. Divided among the 26 generations of the traditional period the addition would be $\frac{3}{4}$ year, but the greater allowance might stand.

(6) Homosexuality. Kalaniopuu's delayed fatherhood may have been due to homosexuality, which was a standard practice of this king and the other chiefs on the islands of Hawaii and Kauai in 1779 (33, p. 132; 14, Samwell, Clerke, etc.) The custom was not new, and Malo (35, p. 334) quotes a tradition that it was initiated by King Liloa in the middle of the traditional period and continued until the time of Kamehameha. An allowance of half a year might be made for delayed reproduction due to homosexuality, although the greater probability is that, with the uninterrupted succession under the control of the sovereign of the line, the practice would not begin until after the heir had been secured by the special mating.

TWENTY-YEAR UNIT ADOPTED

Thus far the basic unit of $15\frac{1}{2}$ years for the generation has been increased by five periods of half a year each to allow for real or assumed contingencies. A further increase of $1\frac{1}{2}$ years has been made for delayed reproduction possibly due to inter-

ruptions in the succession. The total obtained is $19\frac{1}{2}$ years. Doubtless there were other contingencies not at present ascertainable. To allow for them I incline towards a total of 21, or better still $22\frac{1}{2}$ years for the generation unit, but have no figures to support it. On the other hand the allowances already made are very wide and indicate that the generational unit of 20 years, which I now propose, should be sufficient to translate a *full* genealogy of Hawaiian royalty into terms of years. If applied to short genealogies, as in the third column of table II, proper allowances should be made for skipped generations, late marriages or inheritance through younger children.

Without explaining how he arrived at the figure, Fornander employed a 30-year unit for a royal generation. The dates calculated on this basis are those now taught for the traditional period of Hawaiian history. Obviously erroneous, such a unit has never been applied to Polynesians except in Hawaii.

The unit adopted by the Polynesian Society (44, p. 59) for Polynesian genealogies is 25 years. I used it for Hawaiian royal genealogies after calculating the unit for the Japanese royal genealogy, which gives an average of $26\frac{1}{3}$ years for 57 generations (51, p. 38). In this genealogy, there were many successions through the younger children. A 25-year generational unit is no doubt suitable for many Polynesian genealogies and some in Hawaii, such as the short genealogy in table II. However, under the conditions described for securing the royal heir, with the assumed inheritance by the first-born, a 25-year unit is entirely too long.⁵

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Of the dates proposed for the Hawaiian traditional period, those established as the results of actual observations on ages of chiefs and kings must rest on the authority given. Errors, if any, are slight, and the estimates of ages adopted are more likely to be greater than less than the actual ages.

The individuals discussed are descendants in the royal lines of Hawaii, Maui, Oahu, and Kauai, the genealogies of which will serve for approximating other dates reaching further into the past.

⁵ On the present showing, the Hawaiian dates offered in a paper evaluating genealogies (51, tables 5, 8) should be recalculated and changed from a basis of a 25-year generation to one of 20 years. At the same time, the number of generations in each count should be increased by 1.

The generational unit of 20 years proposed for such calculations is not intended for Hawaiian genealogies in general, nor for other Polynesian genealogies, neither of which has been considered in this paper. It applies to the Hawaiian royal lines with assumed inheritance through the first-born who was begotten by means of the special mating described by Malo. This custom, somewhat divergent from that of the other Polynesians, was undoubtedly a local development, and probably belongs to the late traditional period, on which the 20-year unit was based. This unit therefore belongs in particular to this period. It might equally well be applied to the early traditional period, although, for this period, some arguments might be advanced in favor of a unit used for Southern Polynesian genealogies.

Year dates for the pre-traditional period, namely that preceding the times of Maweke, etc. (see p. 48 above), are inapplicable in the present state of our information. The genealogies of the period seem mere recitations of names, some of which are unquestionably fabrications, and just preceding these are the names of old Polynesian cosmogonic characters erroneously posed as former living Hawaiians. As intimated elsewhere (51), Polynesian analogies indicate that the significance of the early portions of Hawaiian genealogies was never imparted by the native genealogists to those who made a record of it in writing.

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NATURALIZATION OF ORIENTALS IN HAWAII PRIOR TO 1900

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About 1838 the first draft of a law was made relating to the marriage of foreigners with Hawaiian women. This law was made under the heading "Alien Laws" and stated that no alien should be permitted to be connected in marriage with a native born female of the Sandwich Islands unless he gave a bond of \$400, took the oath of allegiance to the King, also exhibited satisfactory evidence to the judges that he had not a wife living in any other country, and gave evidence that he was industrious, moral, and a valuable member of society. If he forfeited this bond $\frac{3}{4}$ went to the wife and children and $\frac{1}{4}$ to the government.

Under the laws of 1842, Chap. X—OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE. Sec. IX—"No foreigner shall marry a wife here unless he first go before the Governor and declare under oath that it is his design to remain in the country, and also take the oath of allegiance to this government, and obtain from the Governor a certificate of marriage."

Before 1844 the naturalization of foreigners was a sort of hit or miss affair. There were no regular forms for certificates. The Judges or the Governor wrote a notice on any handy slip of paper stating that John Smith had permission to marry Mele Kukui, having made application to so do. It seemed to make little difference whether or not John Smith were of good repute.

In 1844 forms were used for naturalization certificates, these had to be signed by the Governor. One half the page was printed in Hawaiian, the other half in English. Both the applicant and Governor had to sign these. The certificates read:

GOVERNMENT OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

The undersigned a native of.....lately residing
in..... being duly sworn upon the Holy Evangelists
upon his oath declares that he will support the constitu-

tion and laws of the Hawaiian Islands, and bear true allegiance to his Majesty, Kamehameha III, the King, hereby renouncing all allegiance to every other Government and particularly to that of.....

(Signed by applicant)

Subscribed and sworn to this.....

Before Me

(Signed) M. KEKUANA'OA.

It is interesting to note that these same forms were used throughout the Monarchy, crossing out Kamehameha III and inserting the name of the ruling monarch. These records were in book form, with an index of names written in the front of most and were carefully kept.

CHINESE NATURALIZATION

The first Chinese man known to have lived in these Islands was mentioned by Vancouver in March, 1794. There were probably Chinese here before that date, because the ship *Eleanora*, Capt. Metcalfe, left Canton in 1788 with a part of the crew composed of Chinamen. In 1788 the *Iphigenia* anchored off Kealahou bay with a crew largely made up of Chinese. In 1802 Chinese brought the first sugar mill to these islands from China. They planted cane on Lanai. Torbert gives an account of this in a paper read before the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society in 1850.

The first Chinese laborers were brought here in 1852, but when they arrived there were already 71 Chinese in the Kingdom. In 1843 we find an application from one "Typhoon" for a license to retail spirits, whether or not the British Commission granted this request we have no means of knowing.

The first naturalized Chinaman, so far as official records show, was one AIANAHI, naturalized Nov. 18, 1842. This record with a few others of 1842 and 1843 is pasted into the first book of naturalization certificates.

Records state that up to the 31 of March 1850, 17 Chinese had been naturalized. By 1861, 240 had received naturalization certificates. There is no doubt but that the main reason for their seeking naturalization was so as to enable them to marry Hawaiian women. Unlike most immigrants, the Chinese who first came to Hawaii brought no women with them. Later a few came, but

not until recent times did they bring their families. During the Monarchy there were in all 752 Chinese naturalized. In 1874 a special law was passed stating that no marriage of Hawaiian women with Chinamen should be invalid by reason of previous marriage of the Chinamen in China, provided it was unknown to the woman at the time of marriage. This was repealed in 1876.

JAPANESE NATURALIZATIONS

It has always been stated that there was only one Japanese naturalized in the Hawaiian Islands prior to annexation. This has been proved incorrect.

In 1844 KANAKA NIPONA—KUKÉ, KAINOA, a native of Japan received a certificate of naturalization signed by Governor Kekuanaoa. This was on October 25.

On January 10, 1845, one KUEMO, lately residing in TUSANOKUNI, native of Japana, was naturalized.

On February 13, 1847, KALAIMO, also a native of Japan, became naturalized. But in this case the words "allegiance to every other government and particularly to that of....." were crossed out. This is, in all probability, the first record of Japanese dual citizenship.

There is no doubt but that these three men were members of the crew of some one or more of the Japanese junks picked up and brought to Hawaii. The names are simply the Hawaiian pronunciation of the Japanese names."

The *Friend* of November 1, 1850, in an account of John Mung, or Munjiro, mentions the name of KUSKY as captain of the "TEENSUMOLLY." The Hawaiians, having no letter S would naturally pronounce this as KUKÉ. In the January 1851 issue of the *Friend* another account of Manjiro is given, and the name GOEMON appears. Would not this be KUEMO? Dr. Katsunuma suggests that KOLAIMO might stand for TORE-AMO, or TORAIMON, one of the same party who it is stated remained here and married an Hawaiian woman.

On January 19, 1874, at Honolulu, Rev. S. C. Damon married one TOIO, Japanese, to Rebecca Jackson. We do not know what country Rebecca claimed, but on July 30, 1877, Mr. Damon married MATTHEW, Japanese, to Maria Makukona, Hawaiian. And again on July 26, 1883, HATCH, Japanese, to Karikina, Hawaiian. None of these names appear in the naturalization

records. The law requiring foreigners to become naturalized before marrying Hawaiians, was, so far as we know, still in effect. Could these men have been descendants of those early Japanese who settled in these islands?

It has been taken for granted that the one Japanese naturalized was given this privilege because he carried a gun at the time of the Overthrow, thereby serving the Provisional Government. On September 1, 1894, Tom Abbey (policeman) was given a certificate of SPECIAL RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP. In this certificate he claims that he was "Born in Japan (Claims citizenship in U. S. A.)—has resided in the Hawaiian Islands for 18 years . . ." Tom Abbey's real name was TOMA ABE—in his Oath of Identification No. 15, he gives his nationality as "JAPAN (crossed out) AMERICAN. Local birth place JAPAN."

Under the Organic Act those holding Special Rights of Citizenship did not become citizens of the United States as did those persons who had been naturalized under the Monarchy. But Abe, or Abbey, evidently took it for granted that he was a citizen, as we find his name on the lists for registered voters for some years after 1900. It appears as ABE, ABBY, and ABBEY.

K. Narita and other prominent Japanese residents of Hawaii requested Special Rights of Citizenship under the Provisional Government but were refused. Several Japanese were granted Letters of Denization, but without the right to vote.

Japanese claimed that electoral rights had been promised under the provisions of the Convention of 1886, but this interpretation was denied by President Dole.

It would be interesting to know if there are living today any of the descendants of KUKE, KUEMO, or KOLAIMO.

THE LAST DAYS OF THE ATAHUALPA, ALIAS BEHRING

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In an article on "The Trading Voyages of the *Atahualpa*", published in the *Washington Historical Quarterly* (1928), vol. xix, pp. 3-19, I traced the romantic story of this Boston ship in her voyages of 1800-1803, 1803-1806, 1806-1808, 1809-1810, 1810-1811, 1811-1815.¹ Built, probably, in 1799 the *Atahualpa* made six voyages in her life of sixteen years. Of these, four were to the Northwest Coast of America in the maritime fur-trade; the other two were to China, direct. That article concluded with these sentences:

"The *Atahualpa* and other American traders then in the Pacific sought shelter from the British cruisers in the Hawaiian Islands. There, probably late in 1813, she was purchased by Baranoff for the Russian American Company and renamed the *Bering*; and we follow her career no farther."

As the latter part of her story circles around the Hawaiian Islands it seems proper to present it to this society. Let me premise by saying that in the above quotation there is an inadvertent error: Though the *Atahualpa* was sold at the Hawaiian Islands late in 1813 that sale was not to Baranof, but to four persons who later, probably at Sitka, sold the ship to Baranof.

We shall pick up the thread of her story when in August, 1813, the *Atahualpa*, having finished her two seasons' trade, sailed for the Aleutian Islands. There she loaded some 40,000 seal skins and departed for China by way of the Hawaiian Islands. On October 15, 1813, the *Atahualpa* sighted Kohala Point; the following day she was off Kawaihae Bay, when, as the log says: "I paid the Islanders off and sent them home." The next day's entry changed the whole future of the ship:

¹ See "A List of Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade," in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Third Series, Section II*, vol. xxv, (1931), pp. 135, 140, 147; *Id* (1932), vol. xxvi, pp. 56, 81.

"A canoe came alongside and informed us of the arrival of Capt. L. Porter from Boston in the Sch'r *Tamahaah* (sic)². At 10 received a letter left here by him which informed us that war was declared between the U. S. America and Gt. Britain on 18th June, 1812."

Continuing her course the *Atahualpa* on 19th October arrived at Honolulu (or Anaoora, as the log has it). Off Waikiki, Isaac Davis came aboard and informed them that the schooner *Tamaahmaah*, Lemuel Porter master, and the ship *Pennsylvania Packet*, Thomas Meek master, were lying in the harbour. The latter had arrived from Macao; but the former had just returned from the Northwest Coast. The *Tamaahmaah* will be remembered as the letter of marque schooner which sailed from Boston in February, 1813, to carry provisions and news of the outbreak of war to American ships in the Pacific. Soon after the *Atahualpa* anchored in Honolulu harbour, her master Captain John Suter³ received from Captain Porter letters and remembrances from friends in Boston. Doubtless the two men were previously acquainted: they both hailed from Boston, and they had both been in the maritime fur trade.

Many American vessels are at "the islands"; all taking shelter during the war. The MS log of the *Atahualpa* on which this article is based shows, besides those already mentioned, *Pedler*, *O'Cain*, *Isabella*, *Albatross*, and *Charon*.⁴ These ships flitted in and out amongst the islands carrying on a sort of coasting trade or striving to collect sandalwood; occasionally they made the voyage to China, usually in company. The entry in the log for 26th October has this note of human interest:

"At 3 P. M. Charles Miller, being in liquor refused to do his duty. On the officer's correcting him Robt. Gardiner interfered and gave the officer some impudence and refused to do any more work on board the ship and demanded his discharge. At 5 gave it him."

As the *Tamaahmaah* was, amongst other duties, to carry the cargoes of American ships to China the *Atahualpa* delivered to her by 29th October some 46,000 seal skins to be so transported.

² For a short sketch of the voyage of the schooner *Tamaahmaah* see the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Third Series, vol. xxvi, Section II, (1932) p. 85.

³ A note on the life of Captain John Suter will be found in *Maritime History of Massachusetts*, by S. E. Morison, Boston, 1921, pp. 70f.

⁴ Sketches of the voyages of these five vessels up to 1814 are contained in the "List of Trading Vessels in the Maritime Fur Trade" published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* for 1931 and 1932.

On 5th November, a great alarm spread amongst the vessels in the harbour; for a long, low-lying rakish brig mounting ten guns was manoeuvring around, outside. The ships inside were preparing for action, shottng their guns, and making themselves ready for a struggle. A guard was set to row back and forth all night across the harbour mouth to bring news if the suspected stranger attempted to enter surreptitiously. To end the suspense it was determined to send a note to the disturbing brig to enquire who she was, whence bound, and what her business. The note was delivered; the brig returned a formal reply: that she did not intend to enter Honolulu Harbour and that she was not in need of anything. But the boat also brought back a note received from a black man who stated that he was in irons on the brig, saying that the vessel was from London and bound to the Northwest Coast. Like Cassandra the truthful black man was not believed. The brig was a friend; not a foe. As a matter of fact the strange sail was the *Forester*—a vessel which while flying the British flag was owned by John Jacob Astor, and carried his goods for trade on the coast.⁵

There are some references in the log to the necessity for making repairs to the *Atahualpa*. Then, on 15th November there is the following entry:

“On an examination of the ship this day she was found very defective in a number of places, particularly about the bows, and it being next to an impossibility to repair her at this place and no prospect of a voyage being made at present it was thought best to dispose of her to the best advantage. Accordingly she was sold to Messrs. Davis, Winships, Porter, and Bennett⁶ for \$4500, and discharged the people and paid them off in seal skins.”

All the furs and ship's equipment, not included in the sale, had been landed; but when Captain Suter requested the King, Kamehameha, to protect this property the king refused to do so, unless it was conveyed to Hawaii. Probably the reason was that about 1811 Kamehameha had returned to Hawaii and made his principal residence at Kailua;⁷ and he naturally wished the goods

⁵ The most recent light upon the *Forester* is to be found in *John Jacob Astor, Business Man*, by Kenneth W. Porter, Cambridge, Mass., 1931 and “The Cruise of the *Forester*,” by the same author, in *Washington Historical Quarterly*, vol. xxiii, pp. 261ff.

⁶ William Henry Davis, master of the *Isabella*; Nathan Winship of the *Albatross* and, perhaps, Jonathan Winship of the *O'Cain*; Lemuel Porter of the *Tamaahmaah*; and James Bennett of the *Lydia*.

⁷ R. S. Kuykendall: *History of Hawaii*, New York, 1926, p. 96.

near him if he were to be responsible for them. But Captain Suter was afraid to carry the property there lest the captain of the *Forester* and his mutineers who were then on Hawaii might seize it. He resolved instead to transport it to Kauai. He landed it safely at Waimea Bay, Kauai, on January 17, 1814, and stored it in a grass house belonging to Mr. Caldwell, to await the return of peace which would enable him to transport it to China and its proceeds thence to Boston. Captain Suter sailed from Kauai, four days later, on the schooner *Tamaahmaah*, homeward bound. Just at this point then we have a rather unusual state of circumstances: the ship *Atahualpa* at anchor in Honolulu Harbour or on her voyage to Sitka; her captain, John Suter on his way to Boston by way of China; her cargo of sea-otter and other skins collected in her stay of two years on the coast now stored in a grass house at Waimea Bay, Kauai.

The King of Kauai, Tomaree (Kaumualii), promised to have two houses built, probably in Makaweli Valley, in which to store the valuable furs, but he was very deliberate in fulfilling his promise. The log between the 25th January and 25th February reads almost like a Book of Lamentations, owing to his failure to commence and prosecute the work with vigor. On the 3rd February there were sixty, and on the 12th ninety, men employed in their construction, and yet it was the 25th before the first house was finished. The next two days were occupied in carrying the furs to and storing them in the building. A few days later the King sent two men "to take charge of the houses." And now the furs brought by the *Atahualpa* being housed in Makaweli Valley out of harm's way it is time to return to the *Atahualpa* herself.

After her purchase by the four captains, Davis, Winship, Porter, and Bennett, she seems to have remained for a short time in Honolulu Harbour. On the 26th March, 1814, the seconds of three bills of exchange were sent to China. Presumably these were part of the purchase price, as two of them were dated, Oahu, December 13, 1813, by James Bennett and Thomas Meek for \$750.00 each; the third was dated Oahu, January 6, 1814, by Nathan Winship for \$2250; all drawn on Perkins & Company⁸

⁸ Perkins & Co., the Canton representative of J. & T. H. Perkins of Boston, founded in 1803, was for over twenty years one of the largest American firms in China. It was closely associated with the maritime fur-trade.

in favour of John Suter. Some time about the middle of December, 1813, Captain Bennett sailed the *Atahualpa* to Sitka, Alaska. The *Lydia* which belonged to the same owners as the *Atahualpa* originally, was lying there. Bennett succeeded in selling both of these vessels to the Russian, Baranof.⁹ Some of the sales made during the war by the American captains to the Russians, as for example those of the *O'Cain* and the *Isabella*, were mere subterfuges, but the sale of the *Atahualpa* appears to have been genuine. The Russian account of the purchase is as follows:

"In the course of 1813 besides other cargo he [Baranof] bought of Captain Bennett goods to the value of 31,000 piastres, and for 20,000 seal skins two ships, 'Atahualpa' and 'Lidy' with full armament. The first was three-masted—changed to name of 'Bering'—, and the other 'Ilmen.'¹⁰"

The *Behring* sailed in April, 1814, to the island of St. Paul for the seal skins mentioned; thence to Okhotsk with a valuable cargo of furs; there she embarked a number of Russian hunters, and set sail for the Hawaiian Islands. She was seeking in the islands a new source of food supply; for Baranof's experiment at Bodega Bay was not, as yet, producing in sufficient quantity.¹¹ Early in October 1814, the *Behring* reached Waimea Bay, Kauai, "last from Ochotsk." The next day, or at any rate on the 18th October she sailed for Oahu in company with the Portuguese ship, *Mercurio*. The record says that on October 19, 1814,

"The ship *Berhing* (sic) in standing along shore got too nigh the reef, and got hard aground, but fortunately there being two ships at this place she received immediate assistance, and was got off without receiving any material injury."

And that afternoon she anchored in Honolulu Harbour, or as the record has it "Hanarooroo." The *Behring* remained at Honolulu from October 19 to December 5, in which time she secured a sufficient quantity of the supplies that the island afforded, including taro, salt, and other provisions. Thence the ship sailed for Kauai, where she spent until 28th December, 1814, in obtaining supplies—probably, yams. Soon after leaving Kauai her chronic leak seems to have become more pronounced. At any

⁹ Alexander Andreievich Baranof, for over twenty years the head of the Russian American Company in America. He died at sea, April 16, 1819, on his return voyage to Russia and was buried in the Strait of Sunda.

¹⁰ Translation from *Zhizneopisanie Baranova* (Life of Baranof), St. Petersburg, 1835, p. 155, by the kindness of C. L. Andrews, Esq., Seattle, Wash.

¹¹ *Proposals for Russian Occupation of the Hawaiian Islands*, by F. A. Golder, in "Hawaii: Early Relations with England, Russia, France," Honolulu, 1930, p. 41.

rate instead of heading for Alaska we find the *Behring* on January 7, 1815, in the vicinity of Maui. The log complains of her "leaky condition". The ship is steering for Honolulu once more. The next day Mr. "Hairbottle", as the log dubs the well-known pilot, came aboard and took the *Behring* into Honolulu Harbour once again. The following day (9th January, 1815) the ship was laid ashore as the log says:

"For the purpose of discovering the leak. Found a number of wood ends open, together with one or two seams. Two carpenters employed taking off the copper and caulking the ship's bottom."

The entry of 10th January says:

"Discovered two defective plank—one under the starboard mizen chains and the other on the larboard bow. Carpenters employed repairing them and caulking ship."

On the 25th January the repairs were completed. The ship was immediately hauled off and on the same day she resumed her interrupted voyage homeward. The 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th January the ship was becalmed in sight of Kauai. On the latter date Captain Bennett, who was master of the *Behring*, sent the writer of the log ashore for the purpose of obtaining vegetables.

From this point forward it seems wiser to quote the words of the log. It is a "round, unvarnished tale" that it has to tell.

"Monday January 30, 1815. Commences with light breeze from the southward and eastward. At 6 P. M. the ship abreast of Whymea Bay, at which time I left the shore in a canoe and went on board and reported to Capt. Bennett that the King would not deliver any supplies until he knew what he was to be paid for them.

Capt. Bennett requested me to visit the King again and state to him that he had not any trade on board the ship and requested it as a favour that he would send some supplies on board, for which at some future day he should be amply paid. I again waited on the King and he replied that if Capt. B. would bring his ship to an anchor, he would supply his ship in the morning and I sent word to Capt. B. accordingly. Previous to my leaving the ship the last time, I said to him, that if the King acquiesced in his request I would remain on shore during the night, and if he did not I would return immediately in the boat, to which Capt. B. assented.

At 7 P. M. the ship hauled her wind and stood off shore for morning. At 6 A. M., a light breeze from the southward and eastward, ship about 6 miles to windward of the

bay, standing down along shore. At half past 7 she dropped anchor in the bay. At half past 8 Capt. Bennett and the Russian supercargo came on shore. At 10 A. M. the wind hauled into the southward and westward and blew a fresh breeze which occasioned a very heavy sea, and the wind increasing into a gale blowing directly on shore and the ship lying between two reefs found it impossible to get under way. At 11 A. M., parted the small bower cable; let go the sheet anchor which brought the ship up; launched the maintopgallant mast; stocked the stream anchor; and bent the cable and hoisted out the boats.

"Tuesday 31st January, 1815. Commences with a fresh gale from the southward and westward, attended with a very heavy sea, the ship pitching bows under. Found it impossible to get on board the ship. At 6 P. M., got the lower yards on deck; at half past 2 A. M., the ship struck adrift. Let go the stream anchor, but it would not bring her up, and she drifting into 4 fms., of water, and still continuing to drift toward the reefs, cut the cables and made what sail they could, as being the only alternative left for saving the lives of the crew.

At 3 A. M., the ship struck upon the beach, winded broadside to, and heeled on shore, struck several times very heavy, broke her rudder and stove in the rudder case. Fearful she might heel off shore, got a hawser to her mast head and made fast on shore. Found that the ship had five feet of water in her hold which must inevitably damage a great proportion of the cargo. Capt. Bennett waited on the King and requested his immediate assistance in saving the cargo; to which he would comply, provided Capt. B. would give him the ship as she lay and not otherwise, which was thought most expedient as it was evident that she could not be got off.

During the morning about 200 of the natives employed discharging the cargo and pilfering almost everything that came to hand. Situated as we were, was obliged to put up with every insult which these savages thought proper to offer—and they even had the audacity to heave every man overboard from the ship. However I am in hopes at some future time to have ample satisfaction.

"Wednesday 1st. February, 1815. Fresh breezes and cloudy, with a heavy surf on the beach. The natives employed discharging cargo, which we find to be much damaged. The King ordered all the chests to be put into his house until every article was discharged from the ship.

"Thursday 2d February, 1815. Moderate winds and cloudy. Found the ship much wrecked in several places.

Natives employed in pumping and bailing the water out of the ship.

"Friday 3d February, 1815. Mutable winds and clear. The natives employed in weighing the anchors and getting the cables on shore, and making preparations for getting the ship hauled up. About 2000 natives from different parts of the island, collected at the place.

"Saturday 4th February, 1815. This day the King requested all the crew to assemble at his house for the purpose of obtaining their chests. The King proposed to retain one half of each man's clothes, to satisfy him for his taking them under his charge. We, one and all, replied that if he retained one piece, we would not receive any of them, but get satisfaction at some future day. From observation we have great reason to fear that the King will not grant us even the necessities for our living, as he is sensible that we are in his power and he will do with us as he pleases.

"Sunday, 5th February, 1815. Light winds and clear. The natives made an attempt to haul the ship up but did not succeed. Parted the cables.

"Monday 6th February, 1815. Variable winds and clear. Natives employed as yesterday and met with the same success. The King allotted us a house to live in which was situated on the beach in front of the bay.

"Tuesday 7th February, 1815. Southerly winds and hazy. The natives still employed about the ship. Owing to the religious ceremonies of these natives we are not allowed any fresh pork for the space of 10 or 12 days."

"Wednesday 8th February, 1815. Since our being cast ashore at this place it appears that the King countenances any depredation which the natives think proper to commit, and for myself I have lost a great number of my clothes and a pair of excellent pistols. Natives employed as before.

"Thursday 9th February, 1815. This day requested the King to send a canoe to Woahoo [Oahu] for the purpose of leaving information there of our disaster, and requesting any vessel which may arrive there to touch at this place for our relief. He replied that he would send one in the course of twelve or fifteen days.

"Friday, 10th February, 1815. On examination we find that the ship's plank are started in a number of places, and I think it next to an impossibility for to haul her up.

"Saturday, 11th February, 1815. Steady trades and clear. The natives still employed about the ship.

"Thursday 21st February, 1815. Steady breezes and pleasant. The natives still employed about the ship. By the consent of the King, Tomahowrarory the head chief is

mutually to enjoy the charms of Tepoorá the Queen, who is a professed enemy to all white men.

"Monday 25th February, 1815. At another attempt to haul the ship up, at which was employed about 2000 of the natives, the cables parted and killed seven of the men, which accident will have a tendency to enrage the natives and prevent their assembling again to attempt to haul the ship up.

"Thursday 28th February, 1815. Light winds and clear. The natives employed building a barricade about the ship.

"Friday March 1, 1815. Fresh trades and clear. This day again waited on the King requesting him to despatch a canoe to Woahoo as soon as possible; he replied that he would consider of it, and let me know in a few days. From his backwardness to acquiesce to my request I have reason to fear that he does not intend to send any intelligence to any of the windward islands of our disaster, but to detain us upon this island as long as possible.

"Wednesday 13th March, 1815. This morning the King informed us that a boat with white men in her might depart for Woahoo provided he could be sure of her return. Capt. Bennett and myself engaged to be responsible for her, to which the King assented. Wrote letters to the residents at Woahoo, wishing them to request the master of the first vessel that might touch there to visit this island and if possible afford us some relief.

"Thursday 14th March, 1815. At 8 A. M., the King countermanded his orders and forbade the boat's departure from the island unless every white man would leave it, and they not all of them being willing, the King has determined not to let the boat leave the island. I think he has never intended to let her go, but has made use of this stratagem to learn if the white men were anxious to leave the island. We find it very difficult to obtain sufficient provisions to supply us from day to day.

"Sunday 24th March, 1815. Steady trades and clear weather. This evening we were informed that by the orders of Tamahowraranny our houses would be set on fire, to afford the natives an opportunity of plundering us.

"Saturday 30th March, 1815. Light winds and hot sultry weather. Repeated informations being given of the natives' intentions to set fire to our houses I waited on Tomahowraranny to know why he had given such orders. He replied that he had not given any, and that if any of the natives should again give me such information, if I would bring him to his house he should be punished.

"Wednesday 11th April, 1815. Fresh trades and clear. At 9 A. M., to my inexpressible joy I saw a ship off the

windward part of the island. She prove to be the ship *Albatross*, Capt. Smith, who informed me that he landed the furs I shipped on board of him safe at Norfolk Sound; also informed me that he was now bound there. I immediately went on board of the vessel and took passage for Norfolk Sound."

The above extract from the MS Log of the *Atahualpa* is a verbatim reproduction, save that in three or four instances the spelling and punctuation have been modernized. It has been carried a trifle further than the story of the wreck of the *Behring* (formerly the *Atahualpa*) actually required, but that course was pursued in order that it might be plain that everything relating to the incident had been given.

In reading this account one thought constantly returns: How greatly the maritime fur-trade depended upon the support received from the Hawaiian Islands. As soon as it became necessary for the vessels to spend two seasons in obtaining a cargo of furs it was abundantly plain that the trade could not conveniently be carried on without the assistance afforded by "the islands." They supplied vegetables and fruit in great variety, pork and salt to cure it, rope and cordage, and, above all, intelligent and capable seamen. After about 1792 it is believed that practically every ship in the trade at some time in her voyage visited "the islands" and obtained some form of refreshment. Here the vessels exchanged and gathered information; here they left and obtained seamen; and thus in consequence the story of these islands is interwoven with that of the fur-trade; thus each mutually sheds light on the other; and thus again we see the essential unity of the history of the Pacific Basin.

To conclude the story a word should be added regarding the sea-otter skins which formed the cargo of the *Atahualpa* when she arrived at Oahu. When we see them last in the log they are stored in the houses in Makaweli Valley, Kauai. We have no hint of their final disposition, so far as the log is concerned. But from another source we know that these furs were ultimately sent to Canton and that the moneys realized from their sale was sufficient to send home to Boston, after peace was concluded, a cargo that netted the owners almost \$120,000 on their original adventure of not more than \$40,000.¹² It does not seem necessary

¹² *Maritime History of Massachusetts*, by S. E. Morison, Boston, 1921, p. 72.

to touch upon the steps taken by the notorious Dr. Scheffer when he was sent by Baranof to recover the goods that had been salvaged from the wreck of the *Behring*. The outlines of that story are given in Professor R. S. Kuykendall's *History of Hawaii*, pp. 94f; the details are set out in *The Proceedings of the Russians on Kauai*, by W. D. Alexander, being Paper No. 6 of the publications of this Society; and, finally, the story is well-known.

THE SCHOONER "MISSIONARY PACKET"

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Ships and boats of various kinds have had an important part in the history of Hawaii. Some have achieved distinction out of proportion to their size and cost. The old *Missionary Packet* was such a vessel. Sent out by the American Board in 1826 for the use of the missionaries in Hawaii, this little schooner led a somewhat eventful career for a dozen years. Most statements about the vessel have been based mainly on the account written by James Hunnewell for the Boston *Mercantile Journal* in 1866 (reprinted in the *Friend* of March, 1867) and on the log of the *Packet's* voyage from Boston to Honolulu, which was published at Charlestown in 1880. Miss Harriet G. Forbes, secretary of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, has recently found, in the Mission archives, a number of letters and other documents which shed fresh light on the history of the little schooner. From these documents, which Miss Forbes has kindly allowed me to use, and from other sources of information, including the journal of Levi Chamberlain, the present account has been put together. Mr. Chamberlain gives many other details which cannot be included in this paper without extending it to an unreasonable length.

From the time of their arrival in Hawaii the American missionaries experienced much inconvenience and hindrance to their work and no little hardship from the extremely rough and uncertain means of inter-island travel. In order to promote the success and comfort of the missionaries, the Board in Boston decided, in 1824 or 1825, to build and send out a small schooner to be employed by the missionaries in traveling about among the islands. The vessel, named the *Missionary Packet*, was built at Salem in 1825 under the direction of William Coale, master carpenter. The certificate of registry states that "the said ship or vessel has one deck and two masts and that her length is fifty four feet, four inches—breadth thirteen feet, two inches—her

depth six feet two inches and a half—and that she measures thirty eight and eighty nine ninety fifths tons; that she is a schooner, has a square stern no galleries and no figure head." From the Reports of the American Board it appears that the cost of the schooner and her outfit, together with supplies and expenses of navigating her to the Islands, amounted to \$6,426.36, which was fully twice as much as the Board had originally contemplated.

To get the schooner out to the Islands the American Board entered into an agreement with James Hunnewell of Charlestown, Massachusetts. Hunnewell was just then making arrangements to set himself up in business as a merchant in Honolulu, and he agreed to take command of the *Missionary Packet* for the duration of the voyage, in return for the privilege of taking with him forty barrels of merchandise. These forty barrels of goods, when landed in Honolulu, constituted the first stock in trade of the mercantile house which grew into the present firm of C. Brewer & Company. The crew of the vessel when she sailed from Boston on January 18, 1826, consisted of James Hunnewell, master; John Roundey II of Marblehead, mate; Jonas Dennis of Marblehead, second mate, and two Hawaiian seamen, whose names, if I make them out correctly from the ship's articles, were Homimano and George Naua. At Rio, where he stopped for two weeks, Hunnewell signed on a negro cook named Lewis Dennis, and at the Falkland Islands took on as a supernumerary an Englishman named Henry G. Smith. The cook and the supernumerary left the vessel at Valparaiso, but all the others completed the voyage to Honolulu.

Of the voyage from Boston to Honolulu, Hunnewell has left a graphic description which can be found in the *Friend* for March, 1867. It was a remarkable voyage and Hunnewell believed it established a record for its length, nine months and three days. On finally arriving at Honolulu, October 21, 1826, the little vessel was delivered to Levi Chamberlain, the business agent of the Mission. Though its advent had been eagerly anticipated, the *Missionary Packet* proved to be a sort of a white elephant. While it was convenient to have a vessel at hand to convey the missionaries and their baggage and freight from island to island, the expense of operating it and the business of managing it proved a heavy burden upon Mr. Chamberlain, who already had his time

fully occupied. At odd times, during 1827, when the schooner was not otherwise employed, Chamberlain chartered it to two local merchants, Hunnewell and Stephen Reynolds, who used it to collect sandalwood from various parts of the Kingdom. In May, the deck had to be calked and Chamberlain hired a calker at \$2.50 per day and board, which he found to be the usual wage of mechanics in Honolulu at that time.

On February 26, 1828, Chamberlain chartered the *Missionary Packet* to a local merchant, William French, for one year for service between the islands. French was to pay \$100 a month and to pay \$4000 in case the vessel was lost while in his service. He was also to allow the mission the privilege of shipping supplies to their stations, free of charge, except in case of detention. Also, on giving notice, the mission was to have full use of the vessel for any necessary service, at which times the vessel was to be at the risk and charge of the mission. Writing to one of his missionary brethren, Mr. Chamberlain explained that he felt it necessary to adopt this measure in order to save expense.

At the expiration of the year the schooner was returned to the Mission. Shortly thereafter Mr. Chamberlain entered into an agreement for the sale of the *Missionary Packet* to the Princess Nahienaena. A note in his handwriting gives the following reasons for this transaction: "Cost of sailing. Cost of keeping her in repair. Care and anxiety to the agent. All things taken into account would be as great a disadvantage as having no vessel at all. . . ." The agreement, which is in Hawaiian, is dated April 4, 1829. The Princess signs as Halieta Keopuolani, and six other chiefs sign with her, including the King, Kawikeyaouli, and the Kuhina Nui, Elisabeta Kaahumanu. "Levi Chamberlain gives the vessel named *Missionary Packet* absolutely unto Halieta Keopuolani to be hers forever and to be hers only." The condition of the sale is that the missionaries are to have the use of the schooner, free of charge, three months each year for a term of twenty years; at the end of that period, the Mission will cease to have any claim on the vessel. If this vessel is lost before the expiration of twenty years or is so engaged that it cannot readily be placed at the service of the missionaries when needed by them, then the chiefs are to provide some other vessel for the use of the mission. The schooner was given up to the Princess at Lahaina on May 15, 1829. From a reference in Mr. Chamber-

lain's journal, I gather that the Princess, either at this time or a little later, appointed an agent for the *Packet*, in the person of the chief Kealiahonui, and that the latter appointed as master a native Hawaiian named Mokupopo.

From stray references it appears that the Princess followed the practice of Mr. Chamberlain in chartering the *Missionary Packet* for short periods to local business men. In 1832 the missionaries employed the vessel on a voyage to the Society and Marquesas Islands. At this time a plan was under consideration for establishing a mission at the latter group and it was thought expedient, before making definite arrangements, to investigate the field and also to consult with the English missionaries in the South Pacific, who likewise had some interest in the Marquesas group. It was therefore decided to send a deputation, consisting of Messrs. Whitney, Tinker, and Alexander, to carry out the proposed investigation and consultation. On this voyage the *Missionary Packet* was commanded by Captain Gorham H. Nye. Sailing from Honolulu on July 18, 1832, the schooner arrived at the Society Islands on August 22 and spent four weeks among those islands; sailed thence on September 18; arrived at the Marquesas Islands on October 20, and a week later sailed for Honolulu, arriving there on November 17, 1832, by way of Kaawaloa and Lahaina.

The next important incident in the history of the *Missionary Packet* is related in a letter from Levi Chamberlain to Dr. Rufus Anderson, Corresponding Secretary of the American Board, dated January 4, 1834. Mr. Chamberlain writes: "We have found it necessary to resume the ownership and possession of the *Missionary Packet*, in consequence of a failure on the part of the chiefs to fulfil the conditions of the agreement, by which the vessel became the property of the Princess. The person to whose care and direction the vessel was intrusted was not able to keep her in repair and instead of our being allowed a free use of her three months annually, according to the agreement it came at last to this, that we were required to pay the wages of the seamen which, however, we objected to do, though for a month or two we consented to bear half of the expense.

"As we had expended considerable of a sum for repairs, and as more repairs were needed, which the mission would have to make, if made at all, we thought it advisable to propose taking

her back; unless the conditions of sale should be fully and promptly complied with. The Princess seemed to feel desirous to retain the vessel, and fulfil the contract but we were very sure that, however ready she might be to do her part, there would be a failure on the part of others; and therefore concluded to take possession of the vessel. Consequently she was given up to us, and the agreement cancelled; and it was done very cheerfully.

"We have now made an arrangement with Messrs. Brinsmade, Ladd & Hooper extending to the term of ten years, by which we are to have two months free use of her annually, and the privilege of sending supplies to the stations free of expense to us when it can be done without detriment to their business while the vessel is passing from island to island in their employ, also by giving suitable notice, and paying a part of her net expenses in porportion to the time she may be in our employ, we are at other times to have the use of her when needed by us. The vessel is to be put into complete repair by us at *our* expense, and to be kept so at *their* expense. She is to be insured & kept insured and the parties are to bear the expense in proportion to the time she may be in the employ of each. The charter party includes one foreign voyage of three or four months to be made in the service of Messrs. B. L. & H and one in our service to the Marquesas Islands, if we should need her for that purpose. At the expiration of the term she is to be returned to us in as good repair & condition as she was delivered to them, necessary depreciation of value in consequence of age and wear excepted."

From the original documents we learn that the agreement with the Princess was nullified on December 2, 1833, and that the charter party to Brinsmade, Ladd and Hooper was dated January 1, 1834.

Almost immediately the charterers of the *Missionary Packet* sent her away on a long cruise through the South Pacific, Mr. Brinsmade going along in the capacity of supercargo. The schooner sailed from Honolulu January 10, 1834, visited Tahiti, Valparaiso, and other places, and returned to Honolulu on July 15. During the next six months the vessel was variously employed about the Islands, but early in 1835 the *Packet* was found to be in a very leaky condition and requiring to be thoroughly repaired. She was coppered at an expense of \$324.82 to the Mission, and in July set out on another voyage to the Society Islands, partly on busi-

ness for the Mission and partly on business of Ladd & Company (new name of Brinsmade, Ladd & Hooper). On this voyage the schooner was away sixty eight days, making the trip down in thirty one days and the return in twenty two days.

For the next year we have little information regarding the movements of the *Missionary Packet*, but from the accounts of Ladd & Company it appears that the expenses of the vessel, exclusive of insurance, for the year ending October 1, 1836, were \$2205.02.

References in the *Sandwich Island Gazette* (which began publication July 30, 1836) show that the *Packet* was regularly employed in voyages between Honolulu and other island ports; under command of a Captain Thompson, until the end of October, 1836. About that time the upper works of the schooner were found to be in a bad state and a regular survey was made to determine her exact condition throughout. In a letter to Dr. Rufus Anderson, dated December 10, 1836, Mr. Chamberlain states the result of the survey. He says, "The persons who examined her were competent to the business, and they reported that, to make her sea worthy, the schooner needs to be built up anew from her copper, including by this new outside and new decks, and that the probable cost of such repairs or rebuilding will not be less than two thousand five hundred dollars. This report of survey is regarded by Messrs. Ladd & Company as amounting to a condemnation of the vessel and a discharge from their obligation. . . . It may seem unaccountable . . . that the *Packet* should have failed so soon. One reason that may be stated is, that, while she was in the hands of the chiefs, she was not properly attended to; and her water ways from not having been kept well calked and covered with pitch became open and admitted the water around the timber heads; these have rotted, and her planks also above the copper, the state of her deck planks also is bad and most of everything above water which has been exposed to sun and water needs to be renewed."

Ladd & Company turned the schooner back on the hands of Mr. Chamberlain and that gentleman, well knowing that the Mission could not stand the heavy expense of the necessary repairs, dismantled the *Missionary Packet* and employed Ladd & Company to sell her masts, rigging, sails, anchors, and other fittings and to break up the hull and sell what remained to the

best advantage. Before the break-up had taken place, a buyer appeared in the person of a Mr. Zacheus Rogers and on January 23, 1837, the hull of the schooner (as a hulk "without name Register or National Character"), together with the spars, rigging, sails, chains, anchors, and furniture, were sold to him for the sum of one thousand dollars. This Zacheus Rogers was evidently the "respectable American ship-carpenter" residing at Honolulu, who is mentioned in Hunnewell's account of the *Missionary Packet*. According to Hunnewell, "this carpenter took his own time, repaired her, and put her in order for sea, and offered her for sale."

From the shipping news published in the *Sandwich Island Gazette* we glean some additional details. During the month of November, 1836, and from March 11 to the middle of June, 1837, the *Missionary Packet* is reported as being "in port" (at Honolulu). Up to April 15 she is called an American schooner, though probably not entitled to that designation; after that date she is called the Sandwich Island schooner. In the issue for June 17, she is still noted as being "in port", but is called the *Oahu Packet* and Z. Rogers is named as her master. The following week the *Gazette* reports that the Sandwich Island schooner *Honolulu*, Z. Rodgers, master, sailed June 17, 1837, on a sealing voyage. The fact is well attested that the schooner *Honolulu* was simply the more or less rejuvenated *Missionary Packet* under a new name. Additional light on this episode is obtained from a letter written by Peirce & Brewer to James Hunnewell, dated August 17, 1837. They state that the vessel was sold "by Ladd & Company for \$1000 supposed to be rotten but proved to be very sound. Rodgers & True the carpenters bought and repaired her for \$800 expense, total cost \$1800, they were then offered \$3000 but refused it. She has now gone to find that 'seal island' which has been so much talked of lying if it exists to the northward of the Sandwich Islands. There are six proprietors on shares, John Meek & Grimes are of course concerned." The *Honolulu* returned from her sealing voyage on September 3, 1837, but we get no inkling as to the results of the venture. From that date until November 23, the schooner remained "in port". From the issue of the *Gazette* for November 18, we learn that the vessel has a new master in the person of a Captain Grombeck. (In another place I find this name spelled Groanbec. His first name was Michael

and he was a native of Denmark.)

The *Gazette* of November 25 reports that the Sandwich Island schooner *Honolulu*, Gronbeck, master, sailed on November 23 "for the Southern islands." In the journal of Levi Chamberlain, under the date November 23, 1837, appears the following note: "Today the Schr. *Honolulu*, formerly Missionary Packet, which has been purchased by Mr. Dudoit, sailed from this port for Ascension and carries Mr. Bachelot and Maigret, French Catholics." Captain Gronbeck was evidently employed by Mr. Dudoit to command the schooner on this voyage.

At this point it is necessary to take note of passing events of general interest in Hawaii. In 1837 the Catholic missionaries were making a second effort to gain an entry into Hawaii and to establish their faith on an equal footing with the Protestants. They were for the moment unsuccessful, and toward the end of the year two of the priests, Fathers Bachelot and Maigret, were looking for some means of taking their departure from the Islands. Under these circumstances they decided to accept the offer of Mr. Jules Dudoit to sell them the schooner *Honolulu*¹. The price agreed upon for the vessel was \$3,000, to be paid in two installments: \$1,000 at Honolulu and \$2,000 a month after the termination of the voyage at Valparaiso. The place to which the missionaries wished to go was Mangareva in the Gambier Islands, where was located the headquarters of the Catholic Missions in eastern Oceania, but Captain Gronbeck had first to make a long voyage to the opposite side of the Pacific; hence it was agreed that the missionaries should be taken to Ponape in the Caroline Islands and left there while the vessel pursued her voyage. Returning to Ponape about July or August, 1838, Captain Gronbeck was to retake the missionaries on board and continue on his way via Gambier to Valparaiso, where the schooner was to be delivered to her new owners.

The Catholic missionaries gave the little schooner a new name, *Notre Dame de Paix*, and on November 17, Father Maigret went on board. Afterwards, Father Bachelot joined him and the vessel sailed from Honolulu, as already mentioned, on the morn-

¹ For this last phase of the history of the *Missionary Packet*, I depend chiefly upon the account given by Father Reginald Yzendoorn in his excellent *History of the Catholic Mission in Hawaii*. Father Reginald has also kindly furnished me with several notes from the diary of Father Maigret which throw additional light on the subject.

ing of November 23, 1837. Father Bachelot was ill at the time and his sickness grew worse as the days passed. On December 5 he passed away, while the schooner was still at sea. His body was carried to Ponape, where they arrived on the 13th, and was interred in the little island of Na, close by the coast of Ponape. Here Father Maigret disembarked and remained for the next six months, while Captain Grombeck continued his voyage. We are not informed as to the route of the vessel, but statements in the diary of Father Maigret seem to indicate that Sydney, Australia, was included in her itinerary. The *Notre Dame de Paix* arrived back at Ponape on July 2, 1838, re-embarked Father Maigret, and sailed once more on July 29. She arrived at Mangareva on November 10 and at Valparaiso on December 22, 1838. At that port, on the first day of 1839, the schooner was paid for, and on January 27 the *Notre Dame de Paix* sailed from Vaparaiso, with Father Maigret on board, and arrived once more at Mangareva on March 15.

Beyond that point I am unable to trace definitely the history of the schooner. A note in the diary of Father Maigret leads me to believe that the vessel was still in existence in the spring of 1840. Hunnewell said it was his understanding that the schooner was totally lost on her first voyage under her new owners. Obviously this is not true as to her first voyage, but it would not be surprising if she met disaster on some subsequent voyage. That was a common fate of small vessels in the dangerous waters of the Pacific Ocean.

In view of the several names applied to this small craft at different periods of her history, it is interesting to note the fact, stated in the *Friend* (March, 1867), that "during her lifetime and cruises among the Islands, she was commonly known by the name of the *Ten Commandments*."

While somewhat aside from the subject of this paper, it may be of interest to add a note about Captain Michael Grombeck. After delivering the *Notre Dame de Paix* at Valparaiso, Captain Grombeck returned to Hawaii on Mr. Dudoit's Barque *Eagle*, arriving at Honolulu May 24, 1839. On November 3 he sailed again for Valparaiso in command of the brig *Clementine* (which also belonged to Mr. Dudoit) having as passenger a Catholic priest, Father Columba Murphy, who was going to report to Bishop Rouchouze the results of the visit of the French frigate

L'Artemise to Hawaii in July, 1839. The *Clementine* was to stop at Mangareva on her return from Valparaiso to Honolulu. The brig sailed from Valparaiso on February 15, 1840, and during the passage to Mangareva, Captain Grombeck became ill and died on the fifteenth of March, at the age of 38 years. The fortitude and confident hope of Father Bachelot and his co-religionists in the face of adversity and death had made a deep impression upon the Danish sea captain. In his youth he had been brought up as a Lutheran, but on his death bed he renounced Protestantism and embraced the Catholic faith. His body was taken to Mangareva and interred there on March 27. But for his untimely death, Captain Grombeck would have commanded the vessel on which Father Maigret returned to Honolulu, with Bishop Rouchouze and other missionaries, in May, 1840.

HISTORICAL NOTES

By RALPH S. KUYKENDALL
Secretary

HON. GEORGE R. CARTER

The Hawaiian Historical Society and the cause of historical research in Hawaii suffered a serious loss in the death of Hon. George R. Carter on February 11, 1933. Mr. Carter had served the Society as President and in other offices and had contributed largely to its financial support. His interest in Hawaiian history took a practical turn; he collected what was probably the finest private library of Hawaiiana in existence and presented it to the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society; subsequently he gathered another library, put together along slightly different lines, and was adding to it at the time of his death. Besides collecting, Mr. Carter engaged extensively in research, being especially interested in early Hawaiian printing, early foreign residents of Hawaii, and early shipping. He collaborated with Mr. H. M. Ballou on a monograph upon the Hawaiian mission press and a bibliography of its output (Paper No. 14, published by this Society). Mr. Carter was the moving spirit back of the preparation of the centennial history of C. Brewer & Company; he did a great part of the research himself, and watched over the whole project with the greatest solicitude. The fine volume which resulted was largely due to his unfailing interest and untiring effort to discover the facts and present them accurately and attractively. This suggests one of Mr. Carter's characteristics. Though he was a man of strong convictions and expressed himself at times in a vigorous style, he was singularly free from fixed historical opinions. He was much more concerned about having the truth established than he was in confirming his own views. When authentic data showed that he was wrong in his opinion on any historical point (which was not often the case), he cheerfully accepted the verdict.

Mr. Carter took some pride in the fact that he represented a union of the two principal historical influences which shaped the

modern history of Hawaii—commerce and missionary effort. On one side he was descended from Captain J. O. Carter, ship master and merchant; on the other from Dr. G. P. Judd, missionary physician and Hawaiian statesman. His father, Hon. H. A. P. Carter, was not only a leading business man but one of the ablest of Hawaiian diplomats. With this tradition of public service it was natural for Mr. Carter to enter public life. He was a member of the Territorial Senate, Secretary of the Territory, and in 1903 was appointed to the Governorship by President Roosevelt. His term as Governor fell in a period of great economic stress, and he attacked the Territory's financial difficulties with Rooseveltian vigor and directness, bringing to the problem his experience as a successful business man.

Mr. Carter was for several years one of the Commissioners of Public Archives, and served on many other governmental boards and commissions. He was a member of the Territorial Historical Commission during the entire life of that organization and was its head during all except the first few months. The writer of this note was associated with him in that project for ten years and can testify to the public spirit and feeling of responsibility with which he held that office; he was not a silent partner in the enterprise but gave time and thought to it.

The full exposition of these and other phases of Mr. Carter's life—his business career, his patriotic service during the World War both at home and overseas, his participation in efforts for community betterment, his interest in youth evidenced by his service as a Boy Scout executive and in other ways—must await the pen of his biographer. The Hawaiian Historical Society mourns his loss and honors his memory.

HISTORICAL ESSAY CONTEST

After considerable discussion and some correspondence with the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Trustees of the Society, at a meeting held on December 29, 1932, voted an appropriation of \$100 to defray the expenses of an historical essay contest sponsored by the Society, to be open to pupils in the public and private schools of the Territory. Messrs. H. P. Judd and R. S. Kuykendall were appointed to confer with a representative of the school department to work out plans for the contest. The plan finally adopted provided that the contest

should be open to pupils in the intermediate (seventh, eighth, and ninth) grades of both public and private schools. A first prize of \$25 will be awarded; a second prize of \$15; and five third prizes of \$10 each. The third prizes will be distributed as follows: four for public schools (one for each of the four principal island divisions of the Territory), and one for private schools. The subject for the essays this year is "Kamehameha the Great, the man and his work." Length of essays, 1000 to 1500 words. The final date for submitting essays was May 1. The judges appointed for the contest are: Bishop H. B. Restarick, Professor Gregg Sinclair, and Mr. W. W. Thayer.

HONORS

Our fellow member Judge Howay has during the past year been the recipient of several honors. The Tyrrell gold medal for historical research, given by the Royal Society of Canada, has been awarded to him for the present year. In the fall of 1932 the Bar of the city and district of New Westminster took notice of the fact that he was completing his twenty-fifth year as Judge by presenting him with an illuminated address and a pair of pipes. The honorary degree of LL.D. is to be conferred upon him this month (May, 1933) by the University of British Columbia. Judge Howay has also been elected to membership in the American Antiquarian Society; and the Vancouver Branch of the Dickens Fellowship has elected him Honorary Life President of that branch.

Colonel Thomas M. Spaulding, now stationed at the War Department in Washington, has been honored by his alma mater, the University of Michigan, with the degree of Litt.D., conferred upon him at the commencement exercises in 1932. Members of the Society will be interested to know that Colonel Spaulding retains his interest in Hawaiian history. During the time he has been stationed in Washington, he has done an extensive amount of research and has sent back to Honolulu transcripts of a large number of valuable documents from the Miscellaneous Correspondence in the State Department. He has also supervised the copying of a collection of letters of Richard Armstrong deposited in the Library of Congress. These letters will soon be available in Honolulu.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

In January, 1833, the Oahu Charity School was formally opened. It was an institution of non-missionary origin, for the education of the children of foreigners who had Hawaiian wives. The English language was taught—the school was, in fact, the first foreign language school in Hawaii. In subsequent years it numbered among its students boys from California, Kamchatka, and other parts of the Pacific. By successive changes it afterwards became the Town Free School, the Mililani Girls' School, the Pohukaina Girls' School, and the present Pohukaina School. The statement has been made at various times that the Oahu Charity School was the ancestor of the McKinley High School in Honolulu, but the statement is incorrect. McKinley High School is a descendant of the old Fort Street School, which was begun in the 1850's.

The year 1833 saw the beginning of religious work in Honolulu for seamen under the auspices of the American Seamen's Friend Society. Rev. John Diell, the first chaplain, arrived from the United States and directed the building of the Seamen's Bethel which was opened before the close of the year. Mr. Diell was succeeded by Rev. S. C. Damon, who devoted a lifetime to this work and who was also the founder of *The Friend*.

In 1833 arrived the sixth company of missionaries sent out by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Included in the company were Rev. and Mrs. Benjamin W. Parker, Rev. and Mrs. Lowell Smith, and Lemuel Fuller, a printer.

It was in 1833 that Kamehameha III terminated the regency, which had existed during his minority, and assumed his authority as King, Kinau being continued in office as Kuhina-nui.

It may be noticed, as something of a coincidence in view of the recently enacted beer law, that the first formal law for the licensing and regulation of public houses in Hawaii was enacted in 1833, providing a license fee of forty dollars every six months for the privilege of retailing spirituous liquors.

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